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# ESSAY

ON THE

## ELEMENTS OF BRITISH INDUSTRY;

COMPRISING REMARKS ON THE

CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT DEPRESSED STATE,

*Agricultural, Commercial, & Manufacturing,*

ENGLISH, SCOTCH, AND IRISH:

TOGETHER WITH

SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS REMOVAL.

BY

W. BURNES,

LATE LAND STEWARD TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

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## PREFACE.

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THE following Essay is intended to present a brief outline of the present depressed state of British Industry, and the necessary steps which must be taken, in order to effect an improvement. The object which the author has in view in laying it before the public is, to turn attention into the proper channel, especially the attention of that class of the community for whose benefit his pen is more particularly engaged, viz. *Farmers' sons*. Reference is made in the concluding paragraph to a larger work which now occupies his attention, where the requisite information on the different subjects which the present small one embraces will be given in detail.

W. BURNES.

41. Upper Albany Street, Regent's Park.

London, August 18. 1848.

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# ESSAY

ON THE

## ELEMENTS OF BRITISH INDUSTRY, &c.

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BRITAIN, on the arrival of the first emigrants from the Continent, exhibited no evidence of human art—all was wild and solitary. She presents a very different appearance in 1848. The value of property, added to her soil by the industry of her people, is great. For the first period of her history, the principal, if not the only, branches of industry pursued by our ancestors were, the tending their flocks and herds, hunting, and the manufacture of warlike implements. On the landing of the Romans agriculture had made some progress, and before they finally left our shores, large quantities of corn were exported. The progress of industry since that period has been very various. Sometimes the arts and sciences flourished rapidly,

while at other times again almost no advance was made. During the last two centuries, from the science of labour being better understood in some parts of the kingdom than in others, the march of improvement has been much more diversified than at any previous period. In England and the greater part of Scotland, civilisation has proceeded at an accelerated speed, while in some parts of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland matters have rather gone in a retrograde way. At present, industry is not in a *healthy state* in any province of the kingdom.

Political economists have differed widely in opinion, and, in endeavouring to erect their several theories, have adopted different branches of industry as the basis on which to build them. Some have adopted the agricultural—some the manufacturing—and some the commercial; but the impropriety of thus laying the all but entire stress upon one element is daily becoming more apparent. Those several branches of national industry are visibly but the subdivision of labour applied to the soil and its productions, in order to render them both beneficial to man.

In agriculture, for instance, the farmer cul-

tivates the soil, whether foreign or domestic ; but in this he were immensely restricted without the assistance of the merchant and the manufacturer. He may resolve by his industry to raise much more farm produce, such as corn, cattle, flax, cotton, sugar-cane. &c. &c., than he can require for his own use and immediate wants ; but, before doing so, he must make up his mind for either becoming commercial and manufacturing in his own operations, or else to be indebted to the others engaged in those two branches of industry.

Or again, as to commerce :—On visiting the extensive shops of this great metropolis (London), we witness the agricultural produce of every clime in the world manufactured into a thousand forms, and exhibited in the most inviting manner that the mercer can imagine : but all the anxiety, exquisite skill, and taste thus manifested are simply, when viewed in their most comprehensive light, so many aids to the farmer in procuring from the soil its produce in a shape that can meet the wants, luxuries, and refinement of society.

The industry of the manufacturing world might easily be shown to be a similar subsidiary,

acting its own part in that alliance or corporation.

It is only when those branches of national industry go hand in hand together that the social structure of any nation can be said to rest upon a solid foundation. If more than a due proportion of industry be bestowed upon any one branch, the nation must get into an unnatural condition, and, on that account, be more liable to experience sudden changes of fortune. This is the position of Great Britain and Ireland at present. Our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing strength is not in that state of equilibrium which is conducive to political health, and to a uniform state of general prosperity.

In England, agriculture has hitherto been considerably neglected ; while the manufacturing and commercial interests, on the other hand, have been prosecuted with more than salutary assiduity. England is, therefore, at present in a very unnatural position. She is depending too much upon foreign agriculture for the productions natural to her own climate, such as corn, cattle, flax, &c. ; thus cultivating, as it were, a soil which is not her own, and the pro-

duce of which is naturally denied her during seasons of scarcity, when she stands in the greatest need of it ; while she has millions of colonial acres of her own unoccupied, not to mention her much-neglected resources at home, with thousands of her subjects unemployed, and starving for *want* of employment. To gain to themselves a name, Englishmen have, so to speak, built a commercial tower whose top may reach to heaven, lest they themselves should be scattered abroad to multiply and replenish the immense extent of colonial territory which Providence has given them. The same innate spirit which concocted the building on the plain of Shinar obviously dictates the present commercial and manufacturing policy of England — England, famous for overcrowded cities and densely populated manufacturing towns.

During the last century, our commercial interest has figured upon the stage of the world in a very conspicuous form. The extraordinary part which it has acted abroad is not more remarkable than the hazardous game which it has been playing at home : for, while England has been studious to satisfy the wants of strangers for an uncertain temporary gain, she

has also at the same time been sapping the national independence of her own manufacturing classes. This will appear evident from a glance at her manufacturing districts.

At present, in Manchester alone, the number of unemployed operatives, according to the official reports, cannot be estimated at less than 10,000, taking into account the deficiency of those working short time and those wholly out of employment: in other words, there are between one-fourth and one-fifth of their whole number idle! the consequence of which is obvious. The wages of the operatives are near the lowest level even when in full employment; and the lowest figure at which we can state the actual loss sustained in the single case of Manchester is 300,000*l.* yearly. Such being the case in reference to this branch of industry in one town, what must the general loss to the nation be, including all classes of the commercial as well as the manufacturing interests? In all probability, more than 30,000,000*l.*!

Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland are in the opposite extreme. They have neglected to cultivate both the manufacturing and commercial branches of industry, and are therefore

in a very different position from England and the Lowlands of Scotland, including the manufacturing districts of the west, as Glasgow, &c. From the want of manufacturing and commercial enterprise among them, they have neglected to subdivide the agricultural produce of their respective soils, and hence it has been conveyed to England to support her manufacturing interest, and uphold it in its unnatural state. Instead of subdividing labour, they have subdivided land, the result of which they fearfully experience.

The agriculture of Ireland, deplorable as it may be in many instances, is, *upon the whole*, perhaps not so far behind that of England as many imagine, and as the different circumstances of the peasantry of the two countries would lead one naturally to infer. We were frequently told by gentlemen farmers in the Sister Isle, who had visited this country for the purpose of obtaining information, that theirs was at least upon a footing of equality with ours in respect of agriculture, if not in advance. We are aware that many Englishmen and Scotchmen who have visited Ireland may not be prepared to accord to such a sentiment; but it too frequently occurs that those who visit that unfortunate

country without residence and practice in it, enter upon the examination of her unsettled provinces with minds greatly prejudiced both against the people and their proceedings. But let any impartial observer take up the arguments which such men advance, and the facts on which they found these arguments for the condemnation of Ireland; let him proceed with them a day's journey in any direction out of the English capital, and apply them to the agricultural state of England; and he will find them as applicable for the one country as they are for the other. Such is the inaccuracy of general conclusions deduced from isolated facts.

Those who conclude that the calamities of Ireland arise from the inferiority of her agriculture, do not comprehend the industrial state of her provinces. It may just as well be said, that the inferiority of the condition of the agricultural labourers of Easter and Wester Ross to the condition of those of East-Lothian or Norfolk, is occasioned by the inferiority of the agriculture of the former to that of the latter. It is a well-authenticated fact, that agriculture is farther advanced in Easter-Ross than in the generality of English counties; not



so the condition of the agricultural labourer. In the north, he is still a long way behind his southern neighbour. Perhaps the domestic circumstances of the agricultural labourer on the shores of the Cromarty and Beauly Friths may be stated as a mean between those of the Hebrides and Norfolk. While agriculture has prospered in this quarter of the Highlands during the present century, manufacturing industry has declined. About the end of last century, probably not less than 20,000 hands derived a livelihood from this source, who now do not. The Highland capital at that period was the seat of a thread manufactory giving employment to some 10,000 of the inhabitants of the north scattered over its different counties, which has now entirely disappeared. The quantity of home-manufactured woollen, linen, and canvas stuffs sold in the different fairs has annually been getting less also during the last forty or fifty years. All these branches of manufacturing industry have given way before the machinery of England and the Lowlands of Scotland. Almost the only machinery connected with the above branches in the north belongs to Inverness, and only gives employment to some twenty or thirty

hands. How different has been the progress of art in the south during the same period ! At the commencement of the present century, power-looms, for instance, were only invented or brought into general use. In 1813 the number did not exceed 2,400, which were wholly engaged in plain works. “In 1820 there were estimated to be 12,150 in England, and 2,000 in Scotland. In 1829, 45,000 in England, and 10,000 in Scotland. In 1833 the estimated number in England was 85,000, and in Scotland 15,000. At the close of the year 1835, according to the returns of the Factory Inspectors, the total number in use in England was 97,564 ; in Scotland 17,721 ; and in Ireland 1516 : total, 116,801 ; of which in England there were employed of —

“ Cotton	-	-	-	90,679
Woollen	-	-	-	5,105
Silk	-	-	-	1,714
Flax	-	-	-	41
Mixed Goods	-	-	-	25
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				97,564

*“ In Ireland.*

Cotton	-	-	-	1,416
Flax	-	-	-	100
				<hr/> 1,516

*“ In Scotland.*

Cotton	-	-	-	17,531
Woollen	-	-	-	22
Flax	-	-	-	168
				<hr/> 17,721

“ Since this return has been made, there has been a large accession in number.”

Figures so different as these, connected with one branch of industry, furnish evidence of results not easily calculated. The south and west of Scotland, with a population of only one-fourth of that of Ireland, has nearly twelve times the amount of machinery of the above kind. In England, the difference is nearly as great. In every other department of manufacturing industry, similar differences exist. In short, every Englishman not only performs double the work of an Irishman personally, but he brings into the field of industry, along

with himself, a power many times greater than that of his own. No wonder, therefore, although the latter has been unable to keep pace with the former in the march of improvement Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland have scarcely got beyond the age of the cashrom and loi; with these primitive and patriarchal implements of husbandry, a large number of their inhabitants are still persisting in scratching the hallowed surface of the soil in order to procure from it a scanty allowance of potatoes! This procured, they are content! Beyond this they cannot discern the object of English industry.

The great defect in Ireland lies in the *management* of her labouring population; for acquaint yourself with the wants of the peasantry and small farmers, and from the one end of the island to the other, you will find but one universal complaint, viz. *the want of employment*, the almost total non-existence of the means of industry. You will consequently find the people starving for want of bread, and that too while exporting bread to this country, so as to enable them to purchase our manufactures, and thus furnish both employment and bread for *our* labouring population: you will find the people,

as it were, *giving away their very birth-right*, and then stirring up one another by noisy declamation and clamorous complaint against the laws of the United Kingdom, the whole terminating in tumult and agrarian outrage. That something must be radically wrong in the management of such a people is unquestionable.

An appeal to Ireland—to the Highlands of Scotland—to the princely residences of landlords, gentlemen farmers, commercial and manufacturing capitalists, and others of the higher grades, of every Christian denomination, and of every extraction, in contrast with the miserable cabins of the peasantry, will satisfy the most obtuse observer, that something is wrong about the very foundation of the fabric of social affairs—something inherently wrong in the whole industrial machinery of those countries—a something not confined to any one class of society, but extending to all classes. This something is a fatal misconception of the covenant and science of labour. In short, Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland have overlooked the essential elements of industry.

This has, indeed, been the stumbling-block of all ages, the rock upon which the greatest nations have been shipwrecked. At the very moment we write, France furnishes an interesting, although peculiar example of this kind. Louis-Philippe and his coadjutors, instead of cultivating labour, and trusting to the industry of Frenchmen, fortified Paris; and, forgetful of the troubled element on which they were borne, have found their frail bark, in a moment the most unexpected, dashed to pieces on this very rock. The fate of kings is also the fate of nations, and they who trust in aught, for their daily bread, but in industry and the sweat of the brow, trust in an empty bubble, which must eventually explode into vapour. Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, like every nation in the world since the creation of man which has neglected to cultivate the resources of its own industry, furnish evidence of this. Ancient and modern history teems with consequences overwhelming to empires, arising from the improper employment of the labouring population. The sword, no doubt, in many instances, has been able to quell the spirit of insubordination, to quash rebellion,

and to restore submission to authority; but such submission has always proved but of temporary duration, wherever the industrious habits of the common people have been set at nought. The sword may conquer the most potent of monarchs, and the most extensive kingdoms abroad, but can never subdue the invulnerable arm of famine and want, in the midst of plenty at home; neither can it erase from the page of inspiration, and the statute-book of nature, the irreversible decree, pronounced against every state, kingdom, and country, "*Cursed is the ground for thy sake.*"

The pecuniary benefits directly experienced by the rich, arising from the proper cultivation of the industrious habits of the labouring population, are not less remarkable than the evil consequences flowing from the neglect of them: for, in the north of Ireland, we found the expense of labour to be nearly double that which exists in this country, while the wages of the Irish labourer were only one-half those of the English; and taking the year over, even less than that proportion: while in the south and west of the Sister Isle, the difference was still greater.

The difference between the annual incomes of the English and Irish labourers in our employment in the counties of Huntingdon and Armagh, and in the employment of the same nobleman, at the same species of work in the two countries, averaged from 20*l.* to 30*l.* and upwards in favour of the former, taking the wages of the latter at 1*s.* per day, the sum which we paid on our arrival in the Sister Isle. The total deficiency in the wages of the whole labouring population of Ireland, according to this scale, will be found considerably beyond 20,000,000*l.* yearly, a deficiency quite sufficient to account for all those privations and sufferings under which her unfortunate peasantry groan, especially when we consider, at the same time, that the amount of their productive labour is still more deficient than that of their wages, as will be subsequently shown.

The comparative prosperity of the north of Ireland, over the south and west, arises from the culture and manufacture of flax, and the amount of employment thus afforded, with the consequent increase of wages received by the small farmers and working people from this source. The benefit derived from manu-



facturing and commercial industry by the labouring population of Ulster is far greater than is generally credited, and too much praise cannot be bestowed upon those who are so laudably exerting themselves to extend its influence to the other provinces of their country. The incomes of the small farmers and workmen in the flax manufacturing districts of Ulster will be found, taking the year over, little short of being double the incomes of those of the other districts and provinces of Ireland, where the industrial resources of the country have been more neglected.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to find a parallel in the history of the world, from Adam downwards, to the condition of the peasantry in the south and west of Ireland, taking everything into account, unless it be found in that of the Hebrideans and Highlanders of the mainland of Scotland opposite them, whose case is equally deplorable.

The adversity under which the above two classes suffer, viz. the manufacturing operatives and others connected with our commercial interest, and the agricultural labourers of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, although

arising from apparently different causes, yet originate from the same. The primary cause in both cases is a want of labour; and the final result in both, a want of bread. Between those two extremes, however, there lies a vast diversity of circumstances; and hence the difference of opinion which has arisen in the respective minds of the two parties themselves relative to the cause of their misfortunes: the one party imputing the principal amount of their grievances to the operation of the corn laws and other statutes that regulate the importation of provisions; the other to the tenure of land. The former seeks the free import of foreign corn, and the latter “tenant-rights,” as the panacea for all their ills.

In the first case, the object, or rather ambition of English commercialists and manufacturers is obvious, and simply resolves itself into this demand: “Give us acts of parliament to our liking, and we will then cultivate the whole earth, and provide a sufficiency of bread for the increasing population of Britain to the end of the world;”—a demand this, than which scarcely anything can be more preposterous. Corn, and other absolute necessities of life,

may justly be said to be the standard value of gold ; and gold has already nearly attained to an uniform level in Europe, and will ultimately do so, in defiance of all the legislative measures which commerce or agriculture may advocate.

In the second case, there is something very comprehensive in the sound of tenant-right in the ears of an Irish tenant in adverse circumstances. “A drowning man will catch at straws ;” and a poor tenant liable to be ejected from his small holding has many things to excuse him for listening to proposals, however delusory, which have for their object the rescuing him from the greatest of all calamities which can ever befall an Irishman. To do the small farmers justice, however, we must acknowledge that the grounds on which they themselves based their arguments for relief were much more plausible than those advanced by many of their pretending friends of more liberal education.

A poor man, for instance, will tell you that he has got a very fine farm of five acres of land at the rent of 5*l.* yearly, a figure not at all to be complained of, and he himself is a very good farmer, and equal to any in the town-land on

which he resides. He does not want foreign corn, for he has nothing to give for it; nor cheap corn either, for he never buys any, and that for the self-same reason; and when he sells, the greater that the price is, so much the better. He is perfectly content with the management of his own farm, and the amount of its produce. It is all that Providence has been pleased to give him, and therefore he has no reason to be otherwise than satisfied. But, after all, he is not without his misfortunes. He wants employment to the value of 5*l.* yearly, at least, in order to enable him to pay his rent. If his landlord would come forward generously and supply the deficiency here wanting, then the relation between them would be what it ought to be — matters would go on smoothly, and every one would receive his own; but Irish landlords are so unreasonable as to spend their rents upon anything and everything except Irish agricultural employment. In short, they support commercial and manufacturing industry; and hence the perplexing difficulties with which the poor people are surrounded.

There are in Ireland about 2,000,000 of

her rural population thus situated, including the small farmers and their families; so that were landlords to make a present to them of their holdings (which is neither more nor less than what the demand above made for employment requests), it would not thereby promote them to that rank which they ought to occupy in the British community, nor advance even their incomes *threepence half-penny per day*, or 5*l.* per annum.

The present tenant-right system of Ulster, so strenuously advocated by Mr. Crawford and others, even when viewed only in its most favourable light, proposes no more to the tenant than the performance by the landlord of duties at the expiry of his lease which he ought to have discharged at its commencement. But, when that period has arrived, instead of the landlord putting his hand into his pocket, the tenant-right is sold at the rate of some 10*l.*, 12*l.*, or 20*l.* per acre, for which investment the purchaser receives at the most a fair percentage for his money, but in the majority of cases no interest at all.

In the former case, the tenant is landlord (so to speak) to the amount of the yearly

interest, which, upon a small farm of the size formerly specified, may be estimated at from 12s. to 15s. per acre, being equivalent to an advance upon his wages of about *twopence per day*, leaving out of consideration the fact, that if his money had been differently invested, as in the purchase of manures, it might have returned him from ten to twenty times the rate of interest above calculated. But even taking this view of the question, in those districts of Ireland where the labouring man receives *sixpence per day*, it would only advance his wages to *eightpence*, or to about one-third of the wages of an Englishmen ! Is this "*justice to Ireland*?" If it is so, it must be in the Irish degree of comparison ; which, to say the least of it, is "*robbing Peter to pay Paul*," taking the interest of the poor man's money out of his own pocket to advance his wages.

In the latter case, the incoming tenant, or son who succeeds his father, advances to the outgoing tenant the purchase price of the tenant-right, or accounts with his brothers and sisters for the same, which, upon a farm of five acres at 12*l.* per acre would be 60*l.*, *to save his landlord the bother*: and in many cases which

came under our notice this was absolutely necessary, *for the money slid quietly into the landlord's pocket in the shape of arrears of rent.* If in the first case we robbed St. Peter to pay St. Paul, in this we are robbing St. Patrick to pay the landlord!

That the relation between landlord and tenant in Britain requires revisal, few will deny who are acquainted with the different forms of that relation in different parts of the three kingdoms. But that the calamities of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland flow from this source, is a question the fallacy of which will readily be perceived from the following three views of it.

1. The difference between the condition of the tenantry of the Hebrides and that of the tenantry of the Aird, Black-Isle, Wester and Easter Ross, is as great and even greater than the difference between the condition of the tenantry of Tipperary and that of those of the county of Armagh. Both the Hebridean tenantry and the Tipperary tenantry complain of tenant-rights. It may with as much propriety and justness be alleged, that the present deplorable condition of the Hebridean tenantry, and the difference which

exists between them and the farmers of Easter and Wester Ross, is entirely attributable to the tenant-right system of the former being different from and inferior to that of the latter, as to say that the condition of the peasantry of Tipperary, and the difference between them and the peasantry of Armagh, is owing to the want of the influence of the Ulster tenant-right system in the former which is in operation in the latter. Confining our remarks, for the sake of brevity, to Ireland, the difference between the tenant-right system of Tipperary and that of Armagh is conventional, not legal. No act of parliament was ever passed by the British legislature conferring such a privilege upon the one county and denying it to the other. It would be absurd and ridiculous to entertain the idea of an Irish parliament having done so. If the farmers of the north had power at any previous period to introduce a system favourable for themselves, so have the farmers of the south and west at present.

The tenant-right system of Ulster is comparatively of recent origin. It was not the primitive system of the Celtic communities during the patriarchal ages. It was not even



introduced by Brian Borrhoimi after he had united the Irish clans under one banner, accomplishing the deliverance of their common country from the thralldom and slavery under which it had suffered from the Danish yoke ;—but was introduced by either modern landlords or modern tenants for the special purpose of benefiting either the one or the other, and agreed to by both. We believe the system to be a landlords'-system or landlord-right rather than a tenant-right, and that it originated with landlords: but, be that as it may, it is immaterial to the question at issue which of the two gave birth to the scheme ; for if it is purely a landlord-scheme, then it cannot be brought forward as the means which have been instrumental in advancing the condition of the peasantry of Armagh beyond that of those of Tipperary ; and if, on the other hand, it is purely a tenant-scheme, why did not and do not the tenantry of the south and west adopt it, as formerly noticed ?

2. The tenant-right schemes now in agitation for the amelioration of the British farmer, are measures adapted not to the poor man but to men of capital, who have plenty of money to

invest in the permanent improvement of their farms; for not only the original outlay, but the whole tear and wear of houses, fences, and everything of the kind, have to be borne by them. In Ireland, we had hundreds of the small tenants of Ulster in our employment at task-work who were in the enjoyment of those rights; but the majority of them, instead of being able to finish a job of 60*l.* and receive payment for it at the expiry of their leases, could not finish one of as many shillings; for they had to receive so much weekly to account, and to many of them we were obliged to advance a few shillings during the currency of the very first week. Some had credit at least for a week, but none had money. It is very evident, therefore, that the want of such measures as those now proposed cannot be advanced as the cause of the poverty of the peasantry of the south and west of Ireland, who were never rich beyond their present circumstances — never in possession of capital to invest in the improvement of their farms.

It may be said, however, that were tenants allowed to dispose of their farms at the expiry of their leases, on the plans now advocated

for, they could borrow money to improve them, or rather to support themselves while they were doing so. This is the very evil experienced by the small tenants of Ulster at present. The system enables a poor man to borrow money by granting an assignation of his tenant-right, in order to purchase the goodwill of a farm, for which any sacrifice is willingly made; a transaction which places him among the hands of money-jobbers, who extort from him interest in many cases higher than the landlord's rent. It is probable that money-jobbers derive a higher revenue from the province of Ulster than landlords, for they are neither subject to tax or assessment for the interest they possess in the soil. The interest of the money-jobber is in a great measure diametrically opposed to that of the landlord and tenant. If, for instance, we suppose that a Tipperary landlord lets a farm to a tenant at 20*s.* per acre, and that the tenant borrows some 10*l.* per acre from a money jobber, for which he agrees to pay say *ten per cent.* of interest; that he invests this money in effecting similar improvements to those which have been effected in Ulster; the whole of the improvements in

Ulster, and in every province of Ireland, are void of everything like permanency of character about them, and hence in the course of time have to be renewed;—it is very evident, therefore, that eventually the poor man must either negotiate with his private banker for a new loan, who would now probably scruple to give it, or else remain in a situation like many of his friends of Ulster, paying a high enough rent to the landlord, and as high a one to the money-jobber from whom he borrowed the 10*l.* per acre. The want of a system which has for its ultimate object the payment of some 20*s.* per acre of additional rent, can scarcely be brought forward, on any feasible grounds whatever, by those who are unable to pay their present rents, as the cause of their being unable to do so. The same conclusion is obvious, whether the tenant borrows the money invested or not, provided the improvements are effected at his expense, or that they are included in the purchase price of his tenant-right.

3. The most unfortunate delusion which exists among the small tenantry of Ulster, connected with the subject, is the belief that their tenant-rights give to them a security or

fixity of tenure which they otherwise would not enjoy. The fallacy of this view of the question will readily be perceived from the fact that the tenant-right is a separate document from and *posterior to the lease*. The lease alone can grant possession or maintain the tenant in his holding. It may contain a conventional irritancy at the option of the landlord, stipulating that if the tenant shall fall one full year's rent in arrears, his lease, and hence his tenant-right, shall be null and void without any procedure at law, forfeiting all right to payment for improvements, and that the irritancy shall not be purgeable. The subject which the tenant-right pretends to convey may be given as security for rent, which in practice is established as the rule ; but this landlords are not bound to accept. In many cases, it is only of value because an Ulster tenant will give value for it ; its intrinsic value, if called in question, tenants would often have difficulty in proving. If, for instance, we suppose again that the Tipperary landlord shall let a farm to a tenant, and that the houses on the farm at his entry shall be valued at 10*l.*, — that the tenant pulls down those houses and rebuilds new ones at a cost of 60*l.* ; it is very

evident now, that, according to equity, the tenant-right is worth 50*l.* If, however, we farther suppose that by the expiry, say not of the current lease, but of the succeeding one, the houses are only worth 10*l.*, the original inventory of the landlord; it is now evident that, according to the same doctrine of equity, all claim against the landlord ceases. It is no argument whatever, that this or the other tenant offers to give 50*l.* for the good-will of the farm or tenant-right: the subject of the tenant-right being lost, the right itself becomes a dead letter -- the good-will of the farm expires with the lease.

The apparent object which parties have in view in soliciting legislation on this subject at present is to annex the tenant-right to the lease, and thus render the two inseparable. The result of such a settlement of the question as this would effect is obvious; although we are apprehensive that not a few of the Ulster tenants do not perceive it. At present, landlords have comparatively little to do with the tenant-rights of Ulster. Although they have full power were they to exercise their privileges, and could do so without altering in one

iota the principle of the system, yet they seldom do more in cases where tenant-rights are disposed of than exercise a veto in the selection of incoming tenants. But were tenant-rights legalised, so to speak, they would become the principal party connected with them, and hence the present privileges of the tenant would be excluded by express stipulation. This is obvious from the very constitution and character of a lease; for a lease is a contract of location conditioned for the mutual benefit of contracting parties, in which the respective rights and obligations of landlord and tenant are either expressly stipulated or legally understood. The law of the land is only effective in the absence of stipulation; and hence the tenant-right bills now pending before parliament, let them be passed in what shape they may, or in all the shapes proposed, can only be effective during the currency of present leases. On renewals, their operation is at the mercy of the landlord, who can stipulate to suit himself, or what he thinks proper for his own or his tenant's interest. He may even insert covenants *excluding assigning and subletting*, as well as those already mentioned re-

lative to meliorations and irritancy. In Scotch leases, all these stipulations are already inserted, and Irish landlords are not ignorant of them. The loudest complaint at present in the South and West of Ireland relative to fixity of tenure is from such tenants as hold from year to year; the very parties, it will be observed, who have the last chance of being benefited by those tenant-right schemes now proposed for their melioration. What is true at present would have been so at any previous period of Irish history.

From each of those views which we have thus briefly glanced at, it must be obvious that the impropriety of exciting in the minds of small tenants notions which at the best can never be realised, is very great; and still worse any attempt to establish a general belief that their misfortunes arise from anything seriously wrong in the relation between them and their landlords. Their misfortunes arise from a very different source.

There appears to be a general misconception entertained relative to the twofold position which the small Irish and Highland tenantry occupy as subjects of the state, as well as the twofold



relation which exists between them and their landlords. They occupy the same sphere and position in society, and perform the same duties to the state, as the farm servants of this country; and it is in the relation which here subsists between them as subjects of their landlords and the state, while acting in the capacity of labourers, where all those evils have originated, which have brought upon them their present calamities.

In England, the large farmer stands between the landlord and the labourer. In Ireland, there is a want of this golden mean between the two extremes of poverty and wealth, which has been the stay of England. To the English farmer belongs the merit of the industrious and laborious habits of his labourer, and not to landlords. English landlords are generally Irish landlords, and Highland lairds also; and much more liberal towards their Irish and Highland tenants, than they are towards their English ones. They have for the most part availed themselves of the services of English and Scotch land-stewards and gardeners in improving their properties, and affording an example to *tenants as tenants*; but, unfortunately

for their *tenants as labouring subjects*, how many of them have been unable to proceed further in the reformation of their country!

Although the agriculture of England has been very much neglected, yet the condition of her agricultural labourers is very different, and very much superior to that of the Irish. The extraordinary industry of her manufacturing towns has relieved her rural districts of their surplus population. The Lowlands of Scotland is similarly situated, both having enjoyed the full benefit of manufacturing and commercial industry. The principal feature in the manufacturing and commercial industry of England is its artificial character, or the application of inanimate power to machinery to such a stupendous amount, as already noticed. But while this artificial state of industry has enabled her to compete with and outstrip the rest of the world, the muscular strength and industry of many of her people in her large towns are at a very low ebb, and fast descending to a level with those of the present potatoe-fed inhabitants of Ireland. The amount of labour performed by many of the labouring classes in London and other large towns falls infinitely

short of that performed by an equal number of hands in the rural districts ; which will readily be perceived by any farmer, — a deterioration, the evil consequences of which must eventually be experienced by every class of the community.

It has been pompously affirmed, it is true, that the commercial and manufacturing industry of this country can never be equalled, much less outrivalled by others ; but England would do well to consider the advantageous grounds which she has hitherto occupied before coming to hasty conclusions of this kind. Many of those advantages are now no more, and others are fast disappearing ; and although she still possesses many commercial and manufacturing advantages, which the majority of the States of Europe do not, yet she labours, at the same time, under many disadvantages from which they are exempt, and these are daily increasing. The obvious inference therefore is, that the success of her future policy depends upon a very different line of procedure from that which she has hitherto followed. It cannot be fairly expected that the rest of Europe will remain much longer in that semi-barbarous state under which it has lain for such a period

of time an eye-witness only to England's prosperity and greatness. Sufficient evidence is already afforded us, to the contrary, that every citizen of the Continent is preparing to reach to the privileges of Englishmen; and to practise every branch of national industry which we practise. We cannot for a moment wish the labouring population of the Continent of Europe to remain any longer in their present condition. The peace and prosperity of the world require the contrary. We wish them British freedom and British liberty — to become our faithful neighbours, and honest rivals, co-equal in every respect.

The improvement of the manufacturing and commercial interest of this country may be effected to a certain extent, at present, without materially meliorating our agricultural. This can always be done, so long as the circumstances of the former are inferior to those of the latter. For instance, full employment to the 10,000 idle operatives in Manchester would not affect the condition of the agricultural labourers of Lancashire. But if more than the unemployed hands of the manufacturing districts of this country were required, and if the agricultural

districts supplied this demand, then the latter would be relieved of its surplus population, and the result to the country would be, a general benefit gained; both by a diminution of the amount of rates, as also of the burdens sustained by private families of the poor people in supporting their unemployed connections.

The question may be asked, why does not the existence of so many unemployed operatives affect the agricultural labourers? Why do not half the idle hands in towns go to the country and compete with the agricultural labourers, and throw at least the inferior workmen out of employment?

The fact is curious which prevents the occurrence of such an event. The only protection which the agricultural labourers of England and the Lowlands of Scotland have at present, lies in this: that the idle townspeople of both countries are devoid of physical strength sufficient to enable them to perform the daily amount of the heavy task-work of the country; and the moment that the country-people themselves fall short of their present strength, and the execution of this amount of daily labour,

that moment their ruin is inevitable from this very source.

The principal losses to which agricultural labourers are liable at present, are those arising from the non-removal of their increasing numbers by the other interests. The immense employment afforded by the formation of railways in the United Kingdom has almost prevented any bad effects from being experienced by over-population in our rural districts for the last few years ; but Britain cannot continue for any great length of time to make railways at such an extraordinary rate. The inference, therefore, is obvious, that the interest of the agricultural labourers of the United Kingdom is liable to be affected, at no distant period, by a diminution of revenue to the amount of many millions yearly, and the poor rates increased.

On the other hand, the slightest improvement or depression in the circumstances of the agricultural labourer at once affects the interest of commerce. The reason of this is obvious. Our agriculture is more dependent upon our commerce than our commerce upon our agriculture. Our agriculture is almost exclusively dependent upon our commerce, while our

commerce is too little dependent upon native agriculture, and too much upon foreign, as formerly noticed.

The effect which a diminution of the yearly incomes of our agricultural population below the proper level would have upon our commercial and manufacturing interests, and the benefit which the latter would gain by an advance in the incomes of the former, from a depressed state to a proper level, will, perhaps, appear more evident from the following two examples.

1. If we take the agricultural labourers of England and the Lowlands of Scotland in round numbers at 1,000,000, the rate of wages 2s. per day; then the amount of their yearly incomes will be 31,200,000*l.* The *whole* of this sum passes into the hands of the commercial and manufacturing interests from the hands of the agricultural labourer; and how many exchanges take place afterwards, before its return to them again, it would be useless to attempt to calculate.

A reduction of the incomes of the agricultural labourers of the United Kingdom to the Ulster level, where the daily wages are 1s., would of

course be one-half the present amount, or 15,600,000*l.*; and to the Connaught level of 6*d.* per day, one-fourth, or 7,800,000*l.* yearly. Query. What influence would this have upon our commerce? *Let commerce answer.*

2. In Ireland, there are not less than an equal number of agricultural labourers, or 1,000,000. The extent of cultivated land is rather more than one-third that of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, but considerably under one-half; the number of agricultural labourers being about equal. We cannot, however, estimate the average wages of the four provinces of the Sister Isle at more than one-third of what we allowed for England, or 8*d.* per day; and hence the total amount of their incomes would be 10,400,000*l.* yearly at present.

An advance of wages to the English level of 2*s.* per day, the expense of labour being the same, or, in other words, an advance of the daily quantity of labour performed to the English level, then the advance of the yearly incomes of the agricultural labourers of Ireland would be 20,800,000*l.* The beneficial influence of such an increase above the present demand for manufactured goods will readily be appre-



iated by our manufacturing and commercial interests.

Under such circumstances, it must appear obvious, that to maintain the agricultural labourers of England and the Lowlands of Scotland in their present industrial position, and to bring up those of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland to the same standard, is a subject of national importance, affecting nearly as much the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country as the agricultural; and that the whole community would participate in the advantages to be gained by such a reformation.

To bring the industrious habits and domestic circumstances of the British agricultural labourers to one uniform level — one uniform amount of wages being considered due for one uniform amount of labour received, other things being the same — is not a fanciful theory, but evidently the grand object contemplated by all parties now interesting themselves in behalf of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, relative to their final settlement, and the establishment of peace and prosperity among their distracted inhabitants.

What is here meant by a uniform amount of wages, is not the value of labour in so much gold or silver, whether paid in the shape of day's wages, or the stipulated price per piece ; but what will produce an uniform or regular quantity of food, clothing, and household accommodation of a uniform quality. The price of provisions and other necessities of life fluctuates very much ; but a labouring man can only perform a certain uniform quantity of work, and hence, on the counterpart, requires a certain uniform supply of those necessities to enable him to do so. This equitable principle will be found in general to regulate the wages of the workmen of both England and the Lowlands of Scotland at present. For instance, we paid our servants an advance on their wages in cash of *eightpence* per day, being at the rate of 10*l.* 8*s.* per annum in 1847 over 1846. This, however, was no advance of their incomes ; nor were their domestic circumstances in 1847 even equal, after all, to what they had been in 1846. In the latter year they suffered considerably, along with the community at large.

The wages which we paid in 1846 were 10*s.* and 12*s.* weekly, and in 1847 14*s.* and 16*s.* to

the same hands. The mere advance of wages here paid to the English labourer was equal to the entire average wages in Ireland at the same period, although the difference of the expense of provisions in the two countries was immaterial. To justify such an extraordinary difference in the incomes of our labouring population is hardly possible. The united incomes of the agricultural labourers of Ireland we have already stated at 10,400,000*l*. Taking the average wages of an English labourer in 1847 to be 15*s*. weekly, then the yearly income of this class would be 39,000,000*l*., being an excess over the same class in Ireland of the enormous sum of 28,600,000*l*. annually during seasons of scarcity like the last. It is very evident that the incomes of Irish labourers must be advanced 28,600,000*l*. before they can stand upon equal footing with English labourers, and enjoy the same domestic comforts. Such being the case, the first question which naturally suggests itself to the practical man is, from what source is this immense sum to be obtained? From some source or other it must come before the reformation of Ireland is effected. The

theory, therefore, which does not make this provision, must be rejected as impracticable.

Before proposing any scheme or schemes for the melioration of our labouring classes, from whose calamities evidently all others flow, containing such a provision, let us briefly glance at some of the more *popular theories* of the times, in accordance with the above view of the subject, as this will enable us to avoid rocks on which others have been shipwrecked. It will also introduce several practical questions, inseparably connected with it, which are necessary to be borne in mind.

Two of those theories have already been alluded to: *first*, that embraced in the plea of the small Irish tenant, who wanted employment from his landlord to enable him to pay his rent; and *second*, the tenant-right theories of Mr. Crawford and others. A *third* scheme is that of the introduction of manufacturing industry. A *fourth* source from which to obtain this princely sum is the Exchequer; and the *fifth* and last alternative, the Irish Parliament.

The two former of these schemes have already been disposed of in a former page, and therefore shall only be noticed in this place as

sources from which to obtain 28,000,000*l.* annually for our Irish labourers; or rather schemes which will enable us to elevate the domestic circumstances of our labouring population to one common level. The *third* has also been in some measure anticipated in stating the cause of the present depressed state of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland; but, on review, will be found an unfit scheme for the reformation of those two provinces at present. The latter *two* are so ridiculous as to merit no serious consideration, and are both disposed of accordingly.

1. *The pocket of the landlord.* A large portion of the British public, both in Ireland and the United Kingdom, unhappily attach by far too much importance to the residence of our landed aristocracy among them, and, on the contrary, set less value upon the resources of their own industry than justice demands of them. Our limits will not allow us fully to expose the grossness of the delusion which prevails as to this point among the villagers and labouring population in the immediate neighbourhood of noblemen's residences. When their landlord happens to be an absentee, all

the calamities with which they are surrounded are traced to his absenteeism as their source ; and when he is resident, less perhaps than the one-half of them are satisfied with his conduct. Both my lord and lady are partial in their dealings, and their servants, like themselves, are too familiar with London and Dublin commodities and prices to make many purchases in the country village. Instead of being obliging, these subordinates in the establishment are rather disposed to make other people as wise as themselves, and hence overturn the contentment and prosperity of former times ; and in nine cases out of ten resign their offices, leaving the district in a more deplorable and discontented state than when they first entered it. By increasing the population without making the necessary provision for consequences, landlords and villagers together have increased their own miseries, and entailed them upon their unfortunate posterity.

We have already stated, in a former paragraph, that Irish landlords are generally English landlords also, and more liberal towards their Irish than towards their English tenantry. Granting, however, that they should be remiss

in their duties as landlords in that country; that they should make no provision for their own families, but spend the whole of their surplus incomes in advancing the wages of their agricultural labourers in Ireland: it must be obvious to every one acquainted with the rental of landed property in that island, that this surrender would not raise the requisite sum which the adverse circumstances of the case require. And farther, if we grant this boon to Ireland, we must also, as a matter of justice, grant the same to England; so that in the end we leave the Sister Isle where we found her, some 28,000,000*l.* short annually from being able to discharge her duties to her labouring population engaged in agriculture, and of bringing them to a level with those of this country. Moreover, if landlords were to change their rentals from the channel in which they flow at present, what would become of their present recipients, who number two to one of the others in this country? Is not a large amount of our present commercial distress traceable to this source? We are aware of the argument so often brought forward by many, that the rental of the landlord cannot be better spent

for the interest of the manufacturer and commercialist than in the improvement of the country by the employment of our agricultural labourers. This, however, is a conclusion more popular than true, and based upon the uncharitable hypothesis that landlords mis-spend their money. The obvious duty of the landlord is to make provision for his own family, not those of others; and if his income is prudently spent in this channel, it is as favourable for our commercial and manufacturing interests as if spent by our agricultural labourers. Even granting the justness of this popular conclusion, unfortunately for it as a scheme for the reformation of Ireland, it leaves us exactly in our former position, 28,000,000*l.* short of being upon a footing of equality with England, and even worse than that: for the latter would pocket the lion's share of the manufacturing and commercial advantages which the former would yield under this improved system of things, independent of the benefits resulting from her own.

We cannot therefore procure the necessary funds from this source, in accordance with any plan at present in operation, either in



England or the Lowlands of Scotland. It is not from the pockets of English landlords that English labourers receive this immense sum, but from the pockets of English farmers; and in Ireland it must be taken from the same quarter, before the two countries can attain to similarity as to the point under discussion.

2. *The multifarious schemes of tenant-right now in agitation.* Our limits will not allow us even to enumerate the many theories advanced upon this subject, which at present engrosses so much of the attention of the agricultural world. We therefore concede to all parties the justness of their own theories, and assume that one and all of them tend to forward the advancement of the agricultural interest of Ireland to a level with the agricultural interest of England. This is obviously the final result which all parties calculate upon. We do not believe that Mr. Crawford, or any of his compeers, wishes to advance the incomes of the farmers or agricultural labourers of the sister country beyond the incomes of those of England; neither can we, in fairness and respect for their avowed liberality, suppose for a moment that they entertain anything less.

According to Mr. McCulloch (we abridge from the "Farmers' Almanac" of the present year), the extent of land under aration in Ireland is 5,750,000 acres. The yearly value of the same is estimated at 28,200,834*l.*, or about 4*l.* 18*s.* per acre. The annual produce of the cultivated lands would, according to this calculation, require to be doubled, in order to afford the necessary sum required by agricultural labourers alone, leaving nothing for the large farmer, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the saddler, &c., who will naturally look for their own share of any returns from the soil.

We concur in the practicability of doubling the present amount of agricultural produce from the arable lands in Ireland. But granting this, and waiving all other practical questions with which it stands inseparably connected, what will it avail the advocates of the tenant-right question? This is the very policy which Ireland, unhappily, has hitherto been pursuing. For the last century, she has been acting upon the principle which modern vanity is now endeavouring to foist upon the British public as the only panacea which can save her devoted provinces from sinking into everlasting ruin.

She has, in fact, already doubled her agricultural produce ; but, unfortunately for her, she has at the same time tripled the number of her people. Her national industry has not kept pace with her increasing population ; nor is she in circumstances more favourable for entering the field than she has been at any previous period of her history, even on the supposition that she is in full possession of all that is now so strenuously affirmed as hers. The scheme of itself, isolated from every physical difficulty with which it is surrounded, is a hopeless chimera, which can never exist, save in the minds of men ignorant of practical workings.

On the very threshold of the tenant-right question, we are met with the singular and unexpected fact—that the tenant-right system of Ireland is more favourable for the farmer than the tenant-right system of either England or Scotland. We visited a large extent of the sister country for the express purpose of renting land for third parties in this country, and could find no objections to tenant-rights whatever. In fact, promise an Irish landlord rent, and he will give you a tenant-right or lease to your own satisfaction if you are a rea-

sonable man. Rents no doubt are high enough in the majority of cases, but not higher than what they are in this country, nor so high as what they are in Scotland, taking everything into consideration. We neither objected to rents nor tenant-rights. Our only objection was the expense of efficient labour. The whole industrial machinery of the country was out of order (so to speak), and we could not recommend to any friend to undertake single-handed the execution of necessary repairs in any one district.

Tenant-rights in Ireland therefore, being superior to those in this country, or at least upon a footing of equality with them, it is evident that any improvement which may confer a benefit upon the former will also confer a greater or equal benefit upon the latter. The tenant-right system which will double the acreable produce of the arable lands of Ireland, and increase its value 28,000,000*l.*, will at the same time double the acreable produce of the arable lands of England, and increase its value 80,000,000*l.* annually, and that of the United Kingdom 100,000,000*l.* The total value of the agricultural produce of the United Kingdom

at present is estimated at 168,851,143*l.*, and that of Ireland 48,200,834*l.* annually. According to the tenant-right scheme, the former may be 268,851,143*l.*, and the latter, 76,200,834*l.*, leaving a difference in favour of the former of nearly 200,000,000*l.* annually, the difference in the agricultural population of the two being immaterial.

3. *Manufacturing scheme.* We have already stated that the cause of those calamities which at present afflict Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, is the want of manufacturing and commercial industry. In these places, the science of labour and the elements of national industry have been very much neglected. Many theorists have arrived at the erroneous conclusion, that the introduction of manufacturing industry *at present* would meliorate the condition of the peasantry of those provinces, and advance them to a level with those of England. They further conclude, that, but for the unsettled state of the country, and the insecurity of life and capital in Ireland, this scheme of reformation would immediately be carried into effect, owing to the natural richness of the country, and the many facilities which it

affords for this branch of industry. Those theorists, however, entirely overlook the effect which such a scheme would have, when reduced to practice, upon the manufacturing industry of England, and the results which that effect, recoiling back, would produce upon Ireland. They further overlook the notorious fact, that the Highlands of Scotland is already a peaceful country, the most quiet and pacific province of the British empire, affording more facilities for commercial and manufacturing industry than perhaps any other country in the world. This was more particularly the case previous to the introduction of steam and its application as a moving power to machinery. The water-power of the Highlands is immense, tenfold more than that of its inhabitants, who might have entered the field with England on the most advantageous terms which commercial ambition could have desired. But instead of Highlandmen taking advantage of the natural wealth of their country, they fought for the profitless peculiarities of patriarchal times, and never thought of enlisting in the warfare of modern industry, until it was too late to enter the lists with any prospect of success. Ire-

land, also, equally favourably situated, left the material world, and fought for similar privileges of an ideal kind; hence the reason why both are surrounded by those kindred calamities which are at present consuming them.

It will readily be perceived, from what has been said in a former page relative to the expense of labour, that upwards of 500,000 labourers, at present employed in Irish agriculture, would have to be employed by those who embark in this manufacturing scheme. We estimated the number of agricultural labourers in Ireland at 1,000,000,—found labour more expensive than what it is in this country, where the wages of the workman are double. Before the Irish labourer can therefore receive equal wages with the English labourer, he must first perform daily, at least double his present quantity of work. The consequence of such a change would obviously be, to turn the one-half of the workmen out of employment, the number above stated, which the manufacturing and commercial interests would have to employ. The effect which this would have, without any additional demand upon our commercial interest for manufactured goods,

is obvious. In the shape of wages alone, it would place in our over-loaded warehouses 20,000,000*l.* worth of goods annually. This is the very reverse of that reformation which we formerly acknowledged as alike beneficial in its results to all classes of the community. The fact that England and the Lowlands of Scotland are already prepared to supply annually this amount of manufactured goods, without the erection of a single pennyworth of machinery, renders the scheme fruitless, were it even possible to be reduced to practice.

There can be no doubt that, were it possible to reduce the scheme to practice, it would have for its ultimate result the reduction of our manufacturing interests in the three kingdoms to a uniform level, as to the wages of the artist. But the practical question is, what would that level be? Undoubtedly, not even the present distressed level of our operatives, but something worse, if worse can possibly be. For the same reason, the introduction of the manufacturing industry of Ulster into the south and west of Ireland would ultimately reduce the industry of her four provinces to a uniform and common level; but it is very obvious, that



unless Irish commerce should at the same time obtain five or six times her present demand for manufactured goods, that that level would not be the level of the north at present—a level which does not exceed one shilling per day on an average for a labouring man. A great many, if not the majority of the small farmers and their sons whom we had in our employment in the county of Armagh, were weavers, but preferred out-door work at this rate of wages to plying the shuttle. The condition of many of these was deplorable, and that of the most favoured of them far below what it should be. We can point out a small tenant with a family in the above county, not an exceptionary case, but an average of the most industrious hands, occasionally employed in agriculture and occasionally on their looms. We can point out a labouring man in this country, with a family of a similar size, equal in every respect as to numbers, age, and physical appearances, wholly engaged in agriculture, where the difference of the joint incomes of the two families exceeded 40*l.* per annum on ordinary years in favour of the latter, and much more under seasons like the last.

People who dream of such imaginary schemes forget to calculate the power and value of the stupendous machinery of England; and that Ireland, before she can enter the manufacturing field with any prospect of being able successfully to compete with her, must first adopt the same artificial system. She must first metamorphose two-thirds of her agricultural labourers into artisans and tradespeople of all kinds, before she can even enter the field on equal terms with this country, or commence to erect her machinery.

Although Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland possess many natural advantages over England for commercial and manufacturing industry, and could, at one period of their history, have entered the field of competition with every prospect of success, taking the lead in the march of improvement, that is no reason for the opinion that they can do so at present. It is one thing to shun danger or prevent contagion by the use of preventives, but quite a different thing to effect a cure after members of the body have not only been bruised or diseased, but the physical system reduced to the last stage curable. Before a healing remedy can

be now applied, inflammatory action must be allayed and the progress of disease arrested. Before manufacturing industry can be introduced into those provinces of the Empire, from 500,000 to 600,000 effective men must be found in profitable employment of a reproductive kind. Bread must be found for about 3,000,000 of our population. It is only when this has been accomplished, that the rising generation of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland can be initiated into the manufacturing and commercial industry of England, and the domestic circumstances of the labouring population of the two countries be brought to a common standard. It is totally useless, therefore, at present, to expect from any manufacturing scheme the reformation of our agricultural labourers in Ireland, or of our manufacturing ones in this country.

*Fourth and fifth schemes.* On the first plan, we found the purses of Irish landlords deficient by some 28,000,000*l.*; and on the *second*, those of their tenants by some 100,000,000*l.*, at present, with double that sum staring them as requisite for their future reformation! We save ourselves the trouble of visiting St. Stephen's

with either of those shortcomings, and therefore at once proceed to the Irish Parliament, where the least of them will be found the most suitable figure for its Chancellor's budget.

From these and previous remarks it will appear obvious, that the improvement of our national industry cannot be effected through the instrumentality of any of those popular schemes which we have just mentioned. A new scheme must be concocted, which will produce the necessary amount of capital and employment—that employment must be agricultural. British agriculture can only stay the progress of our present calamities and restore the people to a comparative state of industry and well-being.

The improvement of the industrious habits of the labouring population of Britain, especially of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, is evidently a matter of a very different character from what it is generally supposed to be, and one of far greater magnitude, although perhaps less difficult to accomplish, after all, than what may willingly be admitted. That such a reformation will soon take place, is not only our wish but confident expectation; but before it

can be obtained, material means must be used to procure this as other material ends, and the man who has made practice his study must perceive that the means necessary at present are those of no ordinary description. It is the amount and character of the means which has hitherto been experienced as the great difficulty to obtain; these obtained, the performance of the work will not be found so formidable and opposing an obstacle.

On our arrival in Ulster, the first thing which arrested our attention was the neglected state of industry among the labouring population, especially those connected with agriculture. Had we not previously seen the same state of things in the Highlands of Scotland, we would have had some difficulty in giving credit to the testimony of those who informed us that matters were still worse in the south and western provinces of Ireland, to which we were afterwards eye-witness. Both the method of working and the character of the implements in use were some centuries out of date. In order to show the want of information which exists on this subject, we quote from "British Husbandry" the following extract by the author of that

work from Weld's Survey of Roscommon. "Another peculiarity of Irish digging implements is, that for ordinary use they are invariably provided with longer handles than are customary in England, whereby the labourer is enabled to maintain a more erect position than can be preserved in using the short-handled English spade; and hence in no part of Ireland is it usual to meet men bent down by their labour, as commonly seen amongst old men in other countries." In alluding again to the workmen working in bands or companies at spade-work, he says: "These congregations of workmen give vivacity to the labour, and are ordinarily scenes of much cheerfulness."

We found the misfortune of Irishmen to be that they were too little *bent down by hard labour*, and too much addicted to grouping themselves together for the express purpose of killing time by gossiping at work. The servant was scarcely more to blame perhaps in this respect than his master, if so much. Brought up to such a system of things, both evidently were unconscious of the evils which it entailed upon them. The maxim of the master is to keep in a state of buoyancy the flagging spirits

of his potato-fed labourers, to excite among them a little emulation, where that is possible, and have the whole under his own personal superintendence. So far is prudent, and absolutely necessary. Potato-fed labourers require something more stimulating to keep afloat their sinking spirits than either potatoes or a sixpence per day:—but then comes the abuse of the system. For a master to hang over a lot of workmen day after day, without an hour's intermission, is rather a tedious task for an Irish farmer: hence, to obviate this, twice the number of hands are called in to perform the work, which consequently gives the master half the time to himself. The result of such a practice with a dense population like that of Ireland, or, in fact, wherever the system is practicable, is obvious. In the first place, the labourers are half the year out of employment, lounging about in idleness, and stirring up each other to all those agrarian outrages which disgrace their country. In the second place, they are often, or rather invariably, induced to neglect the cultivation of their own small holdings at the proper season, in order to secure the work of the landlord and large

farmer. And in the last place, it has this pernicious tendency, of making an *Irish job last as long as possible*, as many land-stewards and large farmers no doubt have experienced. Many of the small tenantry who have only a few weeks' employment upon their own holdings, labour under the erroneous impression that large farmers and landlords are in duty bound to supply the remainder, as we have already noticed; and do not hesitate to acknowledge, that they are perfectly justified in eking out a job when in the employment of the latter, if they have any prospect of being turned adrift. In short, parties are mutually jealous of each other. A general distrust on the part of the workmen is fanned into a consuming flame, enervating and unfitting them for laborious exercise.

We very soon discovered, that by a proper system of management, and the adoption of taskwork, the whole of the operations of the farm could be performed at half the cost by half the number of hands,—the workmen at the same time making double wages. In 1843 the joint wages of a man and his two sons were 14s. 6d. weekly, and the average of the last



four weeks prior to Lady-day, 1845, when we left for our employer's residence in England, 30s. and some odd pence. The expense of the work in 1843 was 8*d.* per cubic yard for excavation, and in 1845, 4*d.* ; the materials excavated being of the same quality. At the generality of jobs, the difference is greater in favour of the task-work system.

On the comparative merits of task-work over day-work, our limits will scarcely permit us to offer a practical remark. In this country, a labouring man is found able to perform about one-fourth more work daily on task-work than upon day-work, without being more fatigued. The reason of this lies partly in the position of the workman's body, and partly in the animus of his mind. When at task-work he brings himself better up to his work, so to speak, acquiring thus a greater lever power, which enables him to keep the muscles a *shorter time* extended. A man who lifts *two* ordinary spadefuls in a given time will not be so much exhausted as he would have been by only lifting one of them during the same time—twice the time being occupied in lifting the one spadeful that was occupied in lifting each of the other

two. If a man has got a small job to do, it is much better to finish it off quickly than to hang over it a whole day. The propriety of all work being done by the task is therefore obvious.

If the whole labour of Irish agriculture could be performed by half the present number of hands, under a proper system of taskwork, then the effect of introducing the system into general practice would accordingly be, to turn half a million of her peasantry out of employment, or the whole only on half-employment. The task-work system, therefore, of itself places us exactly in the same dilemma as that in which we found ourselves launched by the manufacturing scheme; so that before it can become instrumental in effecting the reformation of the Sister Isle, double the present amount of agricultural employment must somehow be found with which to conjoin it.

When we commenced task-work, we did not diminish our hands, but, on the contrary, by the introduction of an efficient system of spade husbandry, did more than double their number. The immediate introduction of spade husbandry by landlords and gentlemen farmers into Ireland

and the Highlands of Scotland, and its gradual introduction into this country, would restore our national industry to a healthy tone, and prove itself more profitable in the end than our present practice. Many of our leading agriculturists are sensible of the fact; many have already experienced the advantage of the spade or fork over the plough. The system is fast taking root in England, and is destined at no distant period to supersede the old-school practice. The easchrom, loi, and plough will become interesting objects to the antiquary.

The system no doubt requires more capital to commence with, taking the three kingdoms as a whole, but not so much as many are at first apt to calculate. This obstacle would be easily got over in this country by means of *gradual introduction*; and in Ireland, owing to the incredible expense of horse-work at present, and the well-known fact that a majority of the small tenants lounge about in idleness as long as they might dig their lands, it would be almost immaterial *if matters were judiciously managed*. We have frequently seen small farmers lounging about idle as long as they might have dug the whole of their lands for the ensuing

crop; and then, after the arrival of seed-time, pay more for horse-labour, imperfectly performed and out of season, than would have dug and dibbled the whole in a proper manner by task-work. They would also have realised more than double the produce in harvest. It is true the poor tenant wanted food to support him under hard work, and he had no money with which to purchase it. The question, however, starts up, Where got he money to pay for horse-work? Would not those who gave him credit for the one give him credit for the other? Could he not have got a boll of oatmeal and paid for it in labour as he did his horse-work? Before such confidence can be established in Ireland, the relation between master and servant, *not that of the landlord and tenant*, must be changed, as we subsequently shall see. It is one thing to lend a boll of oatmeal, but quite a different thing to lend horse-work, performed at a season when perhaps the horseman would otherwise have been idle. It is one inducement for the small tenant to plough his land, that he gets employment of the farmer who ploughs it. He is often encouraged to do so, and not unfrequently induced to believe, that more

work will be given him than he ultimately receives. In short, a certain class of small Irish tenants has to serve two masters, and to the members of it the system of spade husbandry can never be profitably reduced to practice, as it will confine their labours exclusively to their own small holdings, which are insufficient to employ them.

This part of the subject involves the important question as to the proper size of farms. To both large and small farms there is obviously a limit. Small farms ought never to be less than would afford sufficient employment for the tenant and his successor, returning, on an average, produce to the value of 100*l.* per annum. The size of large farms will always be limited by the distance from the buildings and the consequent expense of carting out manure during seed-time, and home the produce of the fields during harvest. Between those two extremes, no farmer ought to measure his neighbour's foot in his own shoe, — a maxim too frequently disregarded in discussing this subject.

The amount of capital required by the farmer to cover the difference in the ordinary expense between digging and ploughing is not all that

is necessary in order to insure success, or even render spade husbandry practicable in all cases. On some soils, the system can be profitably introduced without any preparatory improvement being effected: they are naturally adapted for it. The saving of horse-work, and consequently the prime cost of horses, carts, ploughs, &c., and the keeping up of the same, will do more than cover the whole expense of digging in the outset; so that by this system less capital will be required to commence with than by the present. In other cases, it is very different. The expense in the outset for digging, owing to the quality of the soil, is more than double, while the returns in harvest are less in favour of the spade system than the other. Such soils, too, are those which stand most in need of spade husbandry.

On the majority of soils, before the system can be profitably carried into operation, they ought to be effectually drained and subsequently trenched or subsoiled. This will not only confer a permanent value upon their productive capabilities, but render them more easily and cheaply dug afterwards. Great caution, however, must always be observed in trenching land incum-

bent upon a bad or noxious subsoil. No more must be turned up than what can be neutralised in one season. Landlords may sometimes prudently make a sacrifice of one crop, but farmers seldom can, and therefore should always avoid the experiment.

The fact of a thin soil being incumbent upon an unsound subsoil, does not render the deepening of that soil an imprudent or injudicious step, but, on the contrary, a more necessary one to be prosecuted with double perseverance.

Permanent improvements of this kind, inseparably grafted upon the soil, ought always to belong to the landlord, and hence be made at his expense. The expense of draining and trenching, on an average, may be stated at about 10*l.* per imperial acre, for which the tenant would have to pay interest. Such an outlay, no doubt, few British landlords are able to incur without recourse to credit; and such an additional rent as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on this investment would create, many more than Irish tenants would hesitate to give. Neither, however, have any reason to be apprehensive of consequences where the money is properly laid out. We never knew an instance where lands

properly drained and trenched did not repay double the interest here stated, while in many cases we have known cent. per cent. realised.

The position of British landlords and tenants is such at present, that neither of them can expect to be able to perform those duties which they mutually owe to one another and the public, unless from the proceeds of permanent improvements of the kind just mentioned. They may expect great things, as many do, from geology and chemistry, without having to put their hands into their own pockets, but the expectation is vain and delusory. Those are the very first improvements which these sciences will recommend for the advancement and prosperity of British agriculture.

The sum of 10*l.* invested in every British acre cultivated, or capable of cultivation, may be stated in round numbers at about 600,000,000*l.* The investment of such a sum in the soil is obviously a scheme, to say the least of it, of no ordinary magnitude, and may appear to many unacquainted with capital to be uncalled for and chimerical. What is true, however, in respect of a part, must be admitted as true in respect of the whole ; what is true of one acre



is true of 60,000,000. The amount of credit to which the soil is entitled is almost incredible. There are very few farmers who have not invested the greatest portion of 10*l.* per acre, before they got their farms into a profitable state, while many have considerably exceeded that sum. The practical question, however, to which we must confine ourselves at present, is the source from which this enormous sum is to be obtained by landlords, or rather the machinery with which they are to create capital to this amount: unless this is obtained, the scheme of spade husbandry falls to the ground for want of the necessary means to reduce it to general practice.

Taking a limited view of the subject, no doubt money must be had before a single spit is turned over, and the whole sum of 600,000,000*l.* before the whole work is finished: but taking a more comprehensive view of it, not a single farthing more is required by landlords than they at present possess. All that is necessary on their part is to turn the industry of one and a half million of their subjects, at present idle, or only nominally employed, into this improveable field, which may return them

a revenue of some 40,000,000*l.* annually, and the nation 100,000,000*l.* The workman no sooner receives his wages than he pays them away for food and clothing. The merchant and manufacturer return the same to the farmer for the raw produce of the soil. Let the labour be productive, and *it* will support the workmen.

There is perhaps no class of the British community who have greater difficulty in making a provision for their families in accordance with their rank than landowners. Many of them are left to provide for brothers and sisters at the demise of their parents, to the neglect of their own families, who in their turn become a burden upon the heir of the patrimonial inheritance. The system is unnatural. It has often occurred to us, that they, as a body, ought to institute a *land-improving scheme*, of a national character, having for its object the procuring, from permanent improvements effected upon the soil, annuities for the younger members of their families.

It is obvious that money invested in any improvement returning  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. will in course of time redeem itself, and also mean-

while yield shareholders a fair rate of interest. Supposing, therefore, that at the birth of a son or daughter, for whom a father wished to make provision, that he shall insure 1000*l.*, or any other sum being invested in the soil, in the shape of permanent improvements returning  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and that he shall guarantee, by assignation or otherwise, that this interest shall be regularly paid in the shape of annual premiums into the funds of the establishment, it is evident that he can obtain the 1000*l.* from this source on procuring a policy and executing a deed of security.

At the expiry of the first term, or when the 1000*l.* has been redeemed, the landlord has still the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. paid him by his tenant with which to obtain a second 1000*l.* It is this second 1000*l.* with which we propose purchasing an annuity from the funds of the establishment for the son or daughter of the landlord, as the case may be; or the 1000*l.* may be given in dowry to his daughter.

At the expiry of the second term, the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. may merge into the rental of the landlord's estate; or, if his family is large, he may provide by will that the 1000*l.* be three times redeemed,

or oftener, before the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. falls to his eldest son and successor. It is the fruit of his own industry, and he can bequeath it to his family without interfering with the rights of his heir.

Not only may landlords make provision for their families in this manner; but also clear their estates of all incumbrances where such exist. There would also be this advantage attending the scheme, that it would furnish that species of employment which the labouring population of Britain are at present so much requiring.

The machinery of such a company or association would be analogous to that of any life assurance company, only on a more extensive scale. Its principal office would require to be in the metropolis—every banking company a branch, and every landlord's banker an agent throughout the provinces.

We have in the above example taken  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. as the interest paid by the tenant, because it is a rate now generally demanded. This sum would leave say  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 per cent. for interest to the establishment as lender, and 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. as premiums with which to redeem the principal borrowed. Landlords, however, would not be restricted to 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  premiums.

Instead of the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. which they receive from the tenant, they may grant an assignation to 10 per cent. out of their rentals, when that is necessary in order to procure annuities at a shorter date. Or, for every 2000*l.* which they borrow, they may add a 1000*l.* from their rental, making the sum invested in the soil 3000*l.*, for which they would be entitled to interest from the tenant. This would give them  $5\frac{1}{4}$  or  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. to go towards redeeming the 2000*l.* borrowed from the funds of the establishment.

In some instances, again, landlords may take tracts of improveable land into their own hands, and by investing money in draining, trenching, and buildings, realise 10 per cent. and upwards. These, however, are exceptionary cases, and cannot be brought forward as grounds on which to establish a general rule. In the majority of cases, tenants are at present requiring assistance from such improvements, as formerly noticed, in order to enable them to discharge the increasing obligations which the present state of society demands of them; and hence they cannot be fairly expected to return the landlord the whole of the benefit derived from the soil in the shape of interest. For instance, improvements

would require to yield from 10 to 12 per cent. before tenants could afford to give  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . Moreover, it ought always to be borne in mind by landlords, that if improved practice is to flow from a more extensive acquaintance with the sciences, then improved practice must pay for it. Education at agricultural schools and the like is not procured by the farmer for his sons without considerable expenses being incurred.

Several practical questions arise out of what has been said relative to the effect which such schemes would have upon the different branches of industry, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, when reduced to practice. The following *three* are the most important, which we shall briefly consider.

1. What effect will those schemes have upon the wages of the agricultural labourer of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, which we have adopted as the standard level to which we propose advancing those of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland? It is very obvious that spade husbandry, when in full operation, will give employment to more than double the present number of workmen. Such being the case, what effect will its gradual

introduction have upon the price of labour? We have already assumed that a taskman shall make 2s. per day. Is there any probability of an advance taking place under those changes?

No definite answer can be given to such a question, as the issue entirely depends upon circumstances, the effects of which cannot be estimated. We can see no reasons for an advance, but many reasons for the contrary. We are doubtful if the prices of provisions are yet at the lowest level, to which they ultimately may be reduced. The price of food will always exercise a two-fold influence upon the money expense of spade husbandry. *First*, by directly affecting the wages of the labourer; and *second*, by diminishing or increasing the expense of horse-work, which will be found less or more to counterbalance any extraordinary demand for manual labour of this kind.

We can hardly estimate the amount of labour to be spent in draining, trenching, and other extra improvements of this kind, to exceed that which is at present expended in the formation of railways; so that the diminution in the latter may, in all probability, keep pace with the increase of the former. If the evils

can be averted which are likely to arise from this source to the labourer, as formerly noticed, it is the utmost that can reasonably be expected from the land-improving scheme. The inference, therefore, is almost obvious, that the increase of the labouring portion of our rural population will keep pace with the increase of spade labour, occasioned by the adoption of spade husbandry.

2. What effect would the reduction of those schemes to practice have upon the commercial and manufacturing branches of industry? In England, we formerly stated the wages of the agricultural labourer at 2s. per day, and the gross yearly income of this class at 31,200,000*l*. This, however, will be found considerably to exceed the truth, if we descend to details in practice; for not more than perhaps two-thirds of the whole number are regularly employed, so that many shortcomings have to be deducted from the gross income above stated. These can scarcely be stated at less than from 2,000,000*l*. to 3,000,000*l*. annually.

Spade husbandry will have a two-fold effect upon this state of our rural industry. In the *first place*, it will give more regular employ-



ment, and in the *second place* it will almost extinguish poor rates, and hence turn money, at present flowing in this fruitless channel, into a productive one. There may therefore probably be an increased demand for manufactured goods in England and the Lowlands of Scotland, from this source, to the amount of from 8,000,000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.* annually.

In Ireland matters are very different from what they are in England in every respect. In the latter no advance of wages are presumed to have taken place or alteration in the price of labour, while in the former wages must be doubled, tripled, and quadrupled, and the price of labour at the same time reduced. Before even an advance of wages can be obtained, an entire revolution must take place, not only in the system of Husbandry but also in the mode of living and working. The food, clothing, household accommodation, implements of the labourer, and his relation with his employer, must all be changed. This change is, no doubt, a work of gradation, and will take some considerable period of time before it can possibly be concluded: still the result is obvious if persevered in; for the facts

already adduced, relative to Irish workmen in our employment, prove that there can be no doubt whatever as to the practicability of the advancement of labour and wages to the English level, provided the necessary steps are taken to accomplish it, and that, too, at no distant period.

We have already stated the present wages of the Irish agricultural labourers, at 10,400,000*l.* per annum, their increased wages to the English level, 31,200,000*l.*, giving a balance in favour of manufacturing industry of 20,800,000*l.* The result, however, would be much greater than this figure represents: for the Irishman's potato neither goes to the mill or bakehouse. If we suppose that potatoes to the value of 2,000,000*l.* only were consumed, and that the balance of the 10,000,000*l.* was spent in the purchase of bread, then it is obvious that 8,000,000*l.* would pass through the hands of the mealmonger, miller, and corn merchant, before its return to the pocket of the farmer, as it does in this country. The difference therefore would be 28,000,000*l.* instead of 20,000,000*l.*; and the difference in the circulation of money, 28,000,000*l.* multiplied by

the number of exchanges between commercial parties — assuming that *four-fifths* of the labourers at present are paid their wages in potatoes, an assumption which is probably not far from the truth. Such a difference in the monetary world would obviously silence the present popular complaint, both in the Sister Isle and the Highlands of Scotland relative to the scarcity of money.

That the principal amount of the increase of wages of the labouring population of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland will find its way into the pockets of our commercial and manufacturing classes of this country, for a time, we think will readily be granted from what has been said ; but that the whole, or eventually the major part, will flow in this channel we think very questionable, for the following, among many other reasons.

The effect which an advance of wages from 8*d.* to 2*s.* per day on the plan we propose, would have upon the manufacturing industry of Ireland, would be the erection of machinery. This would become an unavoidable step on the part of the manufacturer. In Ulster generally, and in some parts of the south and western

provinces, the erection of machinery may justly be said to have commenced already ; and but for the restraints put upon it by agrarian calamities would have produced the most favourable results before this time. Remove those restraints, and its extension over the whole of the four provinces of the Sister Isle, on a scale not inferior to that which exists in this country, is the obvious result.

We are aware that the opinions of some theorists differ widely from those contained in the last paragraph. They entertain those exalted notions of England's unrivalled greatness formerly alluded to, and assure themselves that the introduction of manufacturing industry into Ireland would be a hopeless as well as profitless step, and that it is her wisest policy to limit her labours to the production of raw materials ! " She has," say they, " very great facilities for the production of raw materials ; and it is in all respects more suitable for her as well as for England that she should direct her efforts to this department, and import manufactured articles from Britain, than that she should attempt to enter into an unequal competition with the latter in manufacturing in-

dustry." Instead, however, of the premises from which this conclusion is drawn being true, the opposite are so, and hence the inference ought to be reversed. England contains greater facilities for growing raw materials of an exportable kind than Ireland, and Ireland greater facilities for manufacturing industry, and the production of raw materials of a non-exportable quality than England.

Many other reasons have been advanced rather of a moral than physical character, vainly attempting to prove that Irishmen are unqualified for the task of establishing artificial industry, so to speak, in their native country. Granting for the sake of argument that they were so, the question immediately starts up, — Would not Englishmen enter the field, embrace the many advantages which the country naturally affords, and teach their English friends of the mother country that half the expense of transporting the raw material once across the channel is a remunerating profit through the instrumentality of machinery? Had reasons of the above description been valid, manufacturing industry would long before now have been established in the sister country.

There is in man, *not excluding Irishmen and Highlandmen*, a natural propensity to abridge labour by artificial means, whenever those means are placed within his reach. The manufacturing and commercial greatness of England and the Lowlands of Scotland has not been achieved by our aristocracy, but by our labouring people. Place the same means within the hands of Irishmen which Englishmen have enjoyed, and the same result will be ultimately obtained. The full employment of the whole of the agricultural population at wages above what they can make at handloom weaving, or similar branches of manufacturing industry, would not only remove the present restraints upon the application of inanimate power to machinery, but also call into life the latent ingenuity and mechanical talents of Irishmen. The rising generation of the different classes of the Sister Isle would become initiated into the different arts, according to their natural acquirements, and hence ultimately manufacture what goods they require for their own use.

In England, the agricultural population in point of numbers is to that of the other

branches of industry as *one to two* nearly, while in Ireland this position is reversed, the agricultural population being double that of the others. The possibility therefore is, that Ireland may ultimately double her present population without increasing the number of her agricultural labourers.

3. The last question which we propose considering is this: Will those schemes, when reduced to practice, make provision for all classes of the community? It will readily be perceived that in this they fall infinitely short. In Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland they make a temporary provision for all classes, until they double their present numbers, — a limited period only, comparatively speaking, for either of those provinces. We formerly stated that English commerce is at present capable of supplying the quantity of manufactured goods which a reformed state of the country would require, while latterly we have been entertaining the probability of Ireland ultimately manufacturing articles for herself. In the sister country at present the number of agricultural labourers are nearly sufficient to cultivate every arable acre of her

four provinces with the spade; hence the whole of the increasing population of this class will have to be initiated into the manufacturing and commercial branches, so that the demand for English manufactures will gradually become less. On the other hand, in this country fortunately the case is very different, double the present number of agricultural labourers being ultimately required. Such being the case, it is more than probable that the increase of agricultural labourers in England will keep pace with the increase of manufacturing industry in Ireland, so that evils resulting from this source may be avoided, and the balance of industry and trade be found more favourable for both countries.

This, however, would not relieve Ireland from the consequences to which she would be subject at no very distant period, arising from her rapidly increasing population, nor even make provision for our present wants in this country. Spade husbandry makes a temporary provision for the increase upon the number of our agricultural labourers, but none for that of the other branches of English industry. No source of industry is opened up for the sons of



landlords and other capitalists, our farmers, our commercial and manufacturing classes—no provision is made for the increase upon the numbers of those classes of the community. It is true that annuities have been proposed for the sons of landlords and capitalists. These, however, are only the means to an end. An annuity only represents the industry of the father, not that of the son. It is only when they have been obtained, that the more important duties of industry devolve upon annuitants. With themselves these would become extinct, leaving their families behind them unprovided for, unless the necessary means are used to provide against contingencies of this kind.

There is perhaps no class of the community whose industry has been less fruitful than that of this, the reason of which is obvious, because no natural field has been open to its members which they could profitably occupy. The battle-field no doubt at one period was occupied by thousands of them, while the sword of the enemy kept pruning down their increasing numbers to a fruitful standard: but war has become antiquated. Post and pension, once so fashionable, have been declared incompatible

with the spirit of modern times; in short, landlords and capitalists have overgrown their industry.

The other classes, above alluded to, are now little better situated. Formerly farmers' sons found an asylum in towns, but now towns are crammed to overflowing, and a counter movement is taking place of a very interesting character. Several of our towns-people at the present moment are making no mean efforts to attain to agricultural eminence, while many more are preparing to enter the field. There cannot be a doubt but that with the establishment of agricultural schools and colleges in every district and province of the kingdom, thousands of the sons of the other branches of industry will be trained up to agriculture.

It is very evident therefore from the present position of British industry, that one element is still wanting in order to complete the theory which we have been proposing for the reformation of the United Kingdom and the final establishment of political health and general prosperity among all classes of the community. That element is colonisation. As soon as we have obtained anything like a prosperous state,

we must institute a national scheme of colonisation, in order to maintain that comparative state of prosperity, to organise which it is more than time we were commenced.

Our system of emigration at present, instead of relieving us from the consequences of over population, rather adds to our calamity. It is a system only adapted for a state of adversity, while we want a system suitable for a state of prosperity. Some system therefore of a more extensive nature, and more encouraging to the different classes of society, must be devised and carried into effect. Colonisation, in short, must become a work of the mother country and not of her colonies, a branch of national industry having for its immediate object the making a suitable provision for the wants of the above classes not provided for, and ultimately for our whole surplus population.

The two great classes for whom the present system is most defective in making provision are the sons and daughters of landlords, capitalists, principal farmers, merchants, master mechanics and artisans of all kind, together with the sons and daughters of the labouring population in their employment, parties whose inter-

ests and duties can never be separated in any well-organised system of industry. The state of the labourer is always a sure index to the industry of the master.

We propose a colonisation scheme analogous to the land-improving scheme already noticed, embracing manufacturing and commercial industry as well as agricultural; and which would have for its object, not only the relieving this country of our superabundant population, but also the reduction of our national debt and the prosperity of our colonies. The principle of the plan by which we would accomplish this national work is the same as that already noticed under the land-improving scheme for this country, where it will be observed that we not only provided for redeeming the original outlay of 600,000,000*l.*, but also 600,000,000*l.* worth of annuities and upwards, handing over to landlords afterwards property to the value of 600,000,000*l.* returning  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. It is very evident, therefore, that not only may we relieve ourselves of our surplus population and national debt by a properly organised scheme of this kind, but also hand over to our posterity property to the value of this debt in the shape

of comfortable homes in our colonies as their patrimonial inheritance. By this scheme the domestic happiness of our emigrants would be in a measure secured before leaving the parent country, all those hardships and calamities which are at present experienced by settlers on their first landing avoided, and their ultimate success rendered undoubted.

It will be observed, that it is unnecessary to carry out the details of the scheme to the same length in effecting the payment of our national debt, as stated above, in the purchasing of annuities, and handing eventually the property created to the landlord undiminished in value. We have only to create property to the value of the national debt in the shape of agricultural improvements, manufactories, roads, railways, &c. &c. This property will enhance the value of our colonial territories more than double that of itself to that class of our people more especially who stand the most in need of it. At present improvements sometimes increase the value of colonial lands twenty-fold, while the character of those improvements are out of date and totally unfit for the age we live in. This enhanced value could be easily transferred

to the national creditor on sufficiently liberal terms to encourage all classes of the community to emigrate.

We have thus seen that in effecting the reformation of British industry, and the improvement of the different classes of the community, three separate schemes, as it were, are requisite, each comparatively distinct from the other, yet inseparably connected together; the prosperity of the one being as dependent upon the success of the other as is that of the different classes themselves. The three schemes may be thus stated in connection with the several classes to which they are more immediately allied.

1. The reformation of our labouring population, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. This we proposed effecting through the instrumentality of task-work, spade husbandry, and the introduction of machinery into Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.

2. A land-improving scheme comprehending every species of improvement connected with the soil. This scheme embraces the industry of landlords, capitalists, and all other classes not included in the first scheme.

3. Colonisation, comprising the relieving this country of our surplus population, the reduction of our national debt, and the improvement of our colonies. This scheme embraces the industry of all classes of the community, domestic and colonial.

Hitherto we have been more than brief on every point of the subject touched upon; and in offering a few practical remarks upon each of those schemes the same cursory mode of treatment must be observed.

1. The reformation of our labouring population. From what has been said in a former page it will be perceived that the immediate reformation of this class depends entirely upon the gaining of one point—the performance of an additional quantity of agricultural labour by the present number of labourers, principally in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, so as to restore the balance of industry to a proper state of equilibrium. By obtaining this increase of industry, we obtain at the same time an increase of agricultural produce exceeding in value some 40,000,000*l.* annually, which enables us to increase the wages of our agricultural labourers to this amount, and those of our

commercial and manufacturing classes the same. These may appear large figures, viewing them in the gross; but when subdivided among those whose industry they are presumed to reward, they are no larger than our present deplorable condition demands. This scheme naturally divides itself into two branches—*first*, the reformation of our agricultural labourers; and *second*, the reformation of our manufacturing and commercial ones.

1. The reformation of our agricultural labourers, alluding principally to Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. On the very threshold of the matter we are met by many jarring elements. We proposed the circumstances of the farm servants of England and the Lowlands of Scotland as a common standard; but when we enter the domestic circle, and witness the food, household accommodation, and general management of the one; and the food, household accommodation, and general management of the other, we perceive differences which cannot be reconciled. A change somewhere is demanded, and the demand is responded to by the interest of the landlord, the tenant, the labourer himself, and the whole body of the



community together. We must, therefore, improve our own industry at home before we can recommend it as an example to others.

The principal difference between the food of our English and Scotch labourers lies in the quantity of animal food consumed by the former, and the oatmeal and milk consumed by the latter. In some parts of Scotland a sufficient quantity of animal food is now beginning to be used daily, but generally speaking there is not. On the other hand, the almost total exclusion of oatmeal, and in the majority of cases milk, from the diet of the English labourer is very much against him, and subjects him to many pinching consequences during years of scarcity which otherwise would be greatly alleviated. Many of them with whom we conversed on this subject during the high prices of 1847 appeared sensible of their loss; but they had no opportunity of bettering their condition. What oatmeal is offered for sale in this country is only ground for dogs. No doubt it is used in such a coarse form in some parts of Scotland, Ireland, and the north of England. We are perfectly aware of the fact, but we are also aware that when it is exported

to other parts it has to be ground over again before it can be used. Over almost the whole of the northern counties of England, and in many cases in the midland and southern provinces, the children of the rich receive oatmeal pudding and milk for breakfast in preference to any other species of food ; but although *a diet* the most suitable for the children of the labouring man, it is wholly excluded from his table. England can only manufacture and cook oatmeal for the dogs and children of her grandees !

There cannot be a doubt but that both parties, English and Scotch, are very much prejudiced in favour of their own peculiar mode of living, without even stopping to reflect upon the validity of the grounds which they have for being so ; and that a medium between the two extremes which they severally follow would be much more favourable and nourishing for either. Science undoubtedly recommends to both the use of flour manufactured, not from wheat exclusively, but from all our cereal and leguminous plants cultivated for their seeds according to their several merits ; and also the consumption of animal and vegetable food, in

general, in a very different manner from what they are used by either party at present.

The principal difference which exists between the household accommodation of the two countries lies in the situation of the labourer's cottage, and the consequent difference in the relation between him and his master occasioned thereby. So far as the mere construction and character of the buildings are concerned, the difference is immaterial to notice; but the difference in the situation of the cottage requires particular attention. Over a large extent of England the cottages of the labourers are grouped together in villages and hamlets, while in Scotland every farmer almost without exception has a sufficient number of cottages and gardens upon his farm with which to accommodate his labourers. That of a house and garden is the principal Article for consideration with every married man to whom terms of agreement are proposed by the farmer, or who shall offer his services to him; and when a farmer is renting a farm, the accommodation for servants is not the last thing he looks after.

The Scotch system will readily be perceived to be mutually beneficial for master and servant

—both in a moral and physical light. To the labourer this is more particularly the case. The fact of the labourer's cottage being continually under the eye of the farmer induces him to pay more deference to the value of moral character. Not only is the character of the labourer himself more narrowly examined, but also that of his wife and family. Well-disposed servants have a twofold interest in assisting their masters in this selection. They not only procure good fellow-workmen, but also honest and exemplary neighbours. They are thus relieved from the curse of the village system, the ensnaring influence of bad example. The farmer is also in some measure necessitated to cultivate the moral and physical welfare of his subjects ; but whatever interest he and his wife may take in the management of their domestic affairs, and the comforts of the cottage, which are seldom overlooked during periods of sickness or adversity, their immediate presence daily among them exercises a powerful and salutary influence. It checks the many wayward propensities of children — incites and supports the timely authority of parents, and indirectly, as it were, trains up the rising gene-

ration to that forethought and circumspection which they generally maintain after they attain to maturity. The labourer again has always his work contiguous to him,—he dines at his own table with his wife and family,—takes a delight in the retirement of his cottage and the produce of his garden; and becomes invariably interested in the prosperity of everything around him, whether belonging to himself, his fellow-labourers and cottagers, or to his employer.

There is obviously here a wide field of industry for English landlords to cultivate and improve. The village system must be done away with, and comfortable cottages with gardens attached erected upon every farm for the accommodation of a suitable number of labourers.

In this country the system of taskwork is more generally adhered to than in the north; which no doubt arises from the difference in the character of the relation between master and servant above alluded to. The adoption of taskwork, however, would not necessarily change the principle of that relation, but on the contrary would rather give a more durable character to it. In point of fact, the principle

of taskwork is already in operation in Scotland; for at every job to which the labourer is sent, a certain quantity of work is expected to be performed by him, and which is acknowledged by himself as just to be given. A Scotch hind engaged for twelve months, at a fixed amount of wages, is perfectly aware that if he falls short of the quantity of work which he daily ought to perform, a brief termination to the relation between him and his master will be the result. Taskwork, however, on the English plan is decidedly preferable, and the interest of both parties requires that it should be more strictly adhered to.

In Ireland the relation between master and servant is the same as it is in this country where the workman is engaged by the day. Over a large extent of the Highlands of Scotland it is similar. In some parts of the latter, where the husbandry of the Lowlands has been introduced, the farmer furnishes household accommodation for his principal servants, such as ploughmen, cattlemen, and shepherds. But in the Highlands taskwork is much more loudly called for than it is in the Lowlands.

Confining our remarks to Ireland, we may

briefly remark that the cabins of the labouring classes require no farther notice in a work of this kind, than their immediate condemnation, and the erection of proper new ones, in accordance with those which we propose for England. We cannot estimate the number of new cottages and gardens required for Ireland at less than 1,000,000, which at 60*l.* each will cost 60,000,000*l.* Some Irish landlords may probably stare at such an expenditure, but never was money better invested than would 60,000,000*l.* in the erection of comfortable cottages for the Irish peasantry at present, as above recommended.

The minute subdivision of land, and the erection of miserable cabins upon those divisions, instead of being a blessing to small farmers, has hitherto been experienced by them as a very heavy clog upon their industry, and will be experienced still more so before an effectual reformation of the country takes place, more especially in Ulster and other places, where fines and other burdens have been imposed upon them. Many of the small Ulster tenants we found had borrowed money from a race of money-jobbers, to purchase tenant-rights, or

cover misfortunes, and were paying from 6 to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of annual interest for such loans. Instead of appropriating any extra wages which they might happen to make to the purchase of proper food and clothing, they hoarded them up, either for the purpose of paying those shameful exactions in the shape of interest, or else to purchase a small farm of land. During the quarter ending Lady Day 1845, the family already alluded to left in our hands, out of their 30s. of weekly earnings, the sum of 8*l.*; which went to liquidate a sum of money previously borrowed for the purpose of purchasing the tenant-right of a small cottage and garden. The family were the tenant-right richer, but they were the same nerveless, potato-fed family as before, and void of that relation with their employer which entitles them to permanent employment.

The general advancement of wages to 2*s.* per day, by taskwork, with cottages, gardens, and regular employment to labourers from large farmers, and the consequent elevation of their circumstances above the circumstances of those who have small farms, without employment extra-neous of them, will eventually put a stop to that



unbounded desire for small holdings, which at present reigns in every province of Ireland. Any one practically acquainted with the dependence of an Irish labourer at present, will readily excuse his ambition to possess a small farm of land to grow him potatoes. Elevate his condition above this dependence, and you at once annihilate this ambition for such a farm, and make him ambitious only to excel as an industrious labourer.

The effects of innutritious food upon the physical system are obvious. The Irish labourer knows nothing else but the almost exclusive diet of potatoes. He has been accustomed to this species of food from infancy, and it is the only one which is naturally relished by him. There are theorising parties, however, who have themselves been brought up on more substantial food, who appear to think that a “belly-full of potatoes” is sufficient for an Irish labourer! nay, who in the reduction of their theories to practice even attempt to reduce the daily allowance of them! Such theories, however, unfortunately for the Sister Isle, cannot be supported by facts; but, on the contrary, are entirely overthrown by them. We have had such theories preached up to us,—Irish la-

bourers accused as lazy, and even unable to work, but to us the want of industry on the part of the servant was the clearest evidence of a greater want on the part of the master.

We have always been accustomed to consider it a duty incumbent upon us, not only to teach our servants, when working by the piece or on taskwork, how to perform a quantity of work for their own sakes as quality for ours, but also to see that they had a sufficiency of wholesome food such as would enable them to do so, convinced that this was no more social duty than wise policy. It is a well-established fact, and one experienced by every labouring man, that that muscular strength which is so absolutely necessary for him to possess, can only be acquired by a combination of hard labour and proper feeding; and that the two are inseparably connected together. Hence, also, the physical improvement of the labouring population of Ireland, as the amelioration of their domestic circumstances, must ever be inseparably connected with the agricultural improvement of her provinces as already noticed; but the former must have precedence of the latter as cause has precedence of effect. What farmer

yokes his plough without first having fed his horses and seen that otherwise they had been properly cared for? How much more shall we attend to the wants of our fellow-creatures!

Owing to very peculiar circumstances, we have had perhaps a wider field for experiment and observation than many practical men, both in Ireland and also in the Highlands of Scotland, among the potato-fed labourers of the north, while we have been able at the same time to contrast our experience in those two provinces with that in England and the Lowlands of Scotland. The result of our observation, independent of any chemical knowledge which we may possess, satisfies us that no labouring man can consume a quantity of potatoes sufficient to supply the muscular waste of the body while subjected to hard labour. In Ireland we had servants of every extraction—English, Scotch and Irish, Celt and Saxon, and *found them alike*. The anxiety of the poor people to ameliorate their condition, and their inability to do so for the want of physical support, furnished a subject of serious contemplation to us. By the successful operation of taskwork among them for two years,

we were able with drudgery on our part, and more than drudgery on theirs, to effect a considerable advance upon their wages, as already noticed, to nearly the English level; but then the workman was never master of his work — *his task* was master of him, so to speak, and the result was that he was daily over-exhausted.

On the contrary, we have observed, that where our labourers used a totally different species of food from potatoes, subsisting on what contained the largest quantities of the constituent elements of muscle, they were invariably the most industrious and laborious servants — the hardest workers and the least fatigued at the close of a day's work.

The body requires daily a certain supply of particular elements to balance the daily waste. This waste is increased by laborious exercise, and it will be found, on making the necessary inquiry, that the quantity of potatoes consumed by Irish labourers is quite deficient of the requisite amount of those particular elements. A labourer, it is true, may cram a sufficient quantity into his stomach, but his stomach will not digest them. It cannot appropriate from them the necessary elements required for the

reparation of the body under severe exercise. It is therefore physically impossible for Ireland to undergo the hard labour of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, and hence obtain the same rate of wages until this deficiency has been supplied by means of proper food and clothing.

About the commencement of digging the new potatoes, where two or three hundred of labourers are collected together at one job, the quantity of excrementitious matter surrounding the work presents a sight sufficient to make the most obtuse observer relinquish his favourite theory of exclusive potato-feeding. The case of a labouring man under such circumstances is truly deplorable. Those only can understand his condition, moral and physical, who have experienced the cravings of hunger, and the racking sensations occasioned by the over-exertion of the muscular system. The chastisement with which it has pleased Providence to visit the country since Lady Day 1845, will greatly tend to modify the peculiar notions of Irishmen relative to feeding their labourers so exclusively upon potatoes. Master and servant are justly suffering together. The punishment

inflicted is not greater than the system deserved ; and no doubt both will look upon the produce of a *conacre* with considerable suspicion for the future : so that, viewing the potato failure prospectively, we cannot help pausing over the probability that it has been laid on Ireland by the hand of one who sticketh closer to her than a brother.

The body of a labouring man may justly be said to be in an unnatural state, certain parts undergoing greater waste than others, according to the character of the work at which he is employed ; and hence the natural disposition of man to evade labour altogether. This unnatural and artificial state of the body, instead of being injurious to its health and existence, is wisely ordained to be otherwise ; and hence again the awful consequences to those tribes and nations who have followed the natural disposition.

The world presents us with a lamentable evidence of the general degeneracy in the moral and physical character of the human race. To such an extent have the intellectual faculties as well as the material system of man been changed and deteriorated in many instances,

that Natural History has had her difficulties in distinguishing between certain of the offspring of Adam on the one hand, and the brute creation on the other. There is scarcely, perhaps, any subject in the world more humiliating to the pride of man, than the study of the natural history of himself; and there cannot be a doubt but that the species of food, clothing, and exercise of the body, were the material means used in effecting those physical changes which have taken place in the family of Adam.

There are many obstacles connected with the introduction of taskwork into Ireland, which are not experienced in this country, where the system has been in operation from time immemorial, and which make their appearance immediately on entering the field of practice. We shall briefly notice a few of those obstacles, which will readily convince our agricultural readers of this country of the necessity of more attention being paid to this branch of Irish industry than has hitherto been done. Had one-fourth of the attention been paid to it, which has been paid to political movements connected with parliament, the sister country

would evidently have enjoyed very different circumstances from what she does at present. On the part of the servant there are perhaps fewer difficulties to overcome than there are on the part of the master. In the majority of cases we found Irishmen as anxious and willing to embrace every opportunity of ameliorating their condition as we found Englishmen or Scotchmen, if not the most anxious and willing of the three, considering their peculiar situation, and the difficulties in which they were involved. A few no doubt would have rather chosen day work and small wages, in preference to exertion at taskwork; but these were the exception in the one country, as they are in the others.

There is also a prevalent anxiety on the part of employers to better the condition of their labourers; but very unfortunately, three-fourths of this class know little or nothing as to the value of labour, and still less as to how it ought to be performed; while the remainder only know how to handle an Irish spade and shovel. The disadvantages under which both lie are obvious and almost inseparably connected with each other, but can only be properly compre-



hended by those who are practically acquainted with labour and can handle both the English and Irish spade and shovel. Such an one, although but slightly versed in mechanical science, will readily perceive from the Irishman's method of working his long-handled implements over his knee, that with half the power applied in equal times, he performs a given quantity of work in twice the time; or he performs in two days, what he ought to do in one with actually less muscular waste of the body. Hence, the excessive hurry and the bustling evolutions of the workmen the moment they are put upon taskwork and begin to exert themselves in order to advance their wages; and hence also the deception passed on observers ignorant of the cause of this excessive activity.

To illustrate this by an instance:—In 1843 we drained and trenched some sixteen to twenty acres for green crop. The work was done by the task. The workmen wrought furiously as if determined to triple their wages. Their activity was admired by the generality of on-lookers, but differently appreciated by different individuals; while we were striving as fast

as we were able to undo it and to get the workmen into the English method of working as near as possibly could be accomplished with the implements in use. Few if any comprehended our object. In 1845 the workmen were performing more work than in 1843 with almost half the bodily evolutions. In consequence of this change different conclusions were arrived at. All parties were agreed as to the justness of the system of taskwork in the abstract, but then a variety of considerations, if such they may be called, got afloat to prevent a unanimous opinion relative to the intrinsic value of labour, the equity of the specific arrangement. One party thought the men were not working so hard as they did on previous occasions. Another party fancied the work was more easily performed; a third, that it was got over in a more superficial manner. A fourth party very gravely concluded that the poor fellows were beginning to fag. These and many other erroneous notions were mooted by parties who knew nothing of the value of labour, all of which were calculated to oppose the general adoption of the system, and even to cramp its healthy operation where reduced to

practice. With regard to the actual expense of the work alluded to above, the facts are these. In March 1843 when we commenced, provisions were cheap, and we fixed the price of labour considerably under that current in this country at the time by fully two shillings per week on the labour of a man. This price was not increased in 1845.

Another and perhaps not the least of the many obstacles which oppose the successful introduction of taskwork into Ireland, is the fixing of a limit to the earnings of the workman. In the north where the wages are 1s. per day we found this *ne plus ultra* to be 7s. 6d. weekly. Hence the erroneous conclusions noticed in the last paragraph: the labourer to whom we paid 10s. weekly only earned 7s. 6d. of them; while, in point of fact, he earned 12s. in order to do justice to Ireland. In a different part of the country, where the ordinary wages of a man were *eightpence* per day, we found *tenpence* the limit of the task. For instance, in the interior of Ireland we made up to a man draining upon the demesne of a resident landlord. The labourer was upon taskwork. The utmost he was making was

*tenpence* per day. He was anxious, he said, to make a shilling, but could not accomplish it. According to the price which he was allowed he ought to have made 2*s.* per day or 12*s.* weekly, and that too with much more ease to himself than he was making the 5*s.* Any Englishman would have made the 12*s.*; as would also many of the Irishmen in our employment in the north. The question then may be asked: Why did not this workman execute as much work as the workmen of this country do? or why, in other words, did he not receive the same wages? The task was looked upon as impossible in the district. It had never been in practice, nor ever could be, was the opinion of every practical man in the locality. Even had this man made 2*s.* per day, the next job would have been so reduced in price as to bring down his wages to the common standard of the district.

Irish labourers are, in general, sufficiently knowing not to spoil a good job when they get one, and the drainer above referred to, even had he received double the price allowed him on the occasion, would not have ventured beyond 1*s.* per day on any account. Some time pre-

vious to 1843 part of the lands which we trenched at 3*l.* 4*s.* per acre, was dug only half the depth at the cost of some 6*l.*, the top spit being more easily dug than the bottom one. Instances of this kind are not confined indeed to Ireland. They are also to be found in England, wherever parties unacquainted with labour commence to let work upon task; but in Ireland it operates as a serious clog upon the advancement of industry and comfort among the labouring population.

From these remarks it will readily be perceived that the first practical step in the reformation of Ireland is the instruction of the peasantry how to execute the necessary quantity of labour, in order to obtain sufficient wages. In the performance of this task many weighty and important responsibilities obviously devolve upon the landlord and large farmer which we shall subsequently notice. The counter duties of the servant will appear obvious when we state those of the master.

2. The reformation of our commercial and manufacturing classes. The practice of task-work is in full operation among the labouring portion of these two classes, so that all that is

necessary to be procured for them is full employment, which will naturally follow an increased demand for manufactured goods from the agricultural body. Remunerating employment, however, we have seen is not all that is necessary in order to secure the comfort and happiness of the labouring man. Proper food, clothing, and household accommodation are also requisite and indispensable. In alluding to the food of the agricultural labourer, we only noticed that which is destined to supply the wants of the stomach. But animal and vegetable food, however well proportioned, are but one of two elements necessary to supply the wants of the body. The respiratory organs require to be, if possible, more carefully administered to than the other.

The household accommodation appropriated to this class of our labouring population is deplorable in the extreme, more especially as regards ventilation. Nowhere is this more conspicuously to be observed than in the metropolis itself. The crowded state of London is shameful. Half the iniquity and discontentment, as well as half the bad health, result from the inferior character and crowded

state of the lodgings of the lower orders of the people. This is not only applicable to the old houses in the narrow lanes of the city, but also to buildings, comparatively of yesterday's erection. The maxim acted upon by every town is perhaps the most narrow that can well be imagined. If *an acre* of land in London is worth more than *ten* in any other part of Middlesex, surely the wisdom of the metropolis is to possess as many acres as possible. Is this the maxim she has acted upon? The very contrary has been her policy! The house in which we lodge presents a fair exterior to Albany Street, but its value is greatly depreciated by the crowded state of the houses between it and the canal basin. Here there are four ranges of buildings, where there only ought to have been but one. These appear to be principally occupied by the labouring classes. A little more acquaintance with science, and the elements of health, will teach both parties the folly of their present conduct. We ourselves can honestly tell the landlord of the buildings in which we live, that were it not for the value of his tenant, we should put extremely little value upon our lodgings.

The health of towns is a subject which would require volumes to do justice to it, instead of the few passing remarks which we are able to bestow upon it in this place. It is a field of industry which has hitherto been seriously neglected, but which is likely to be differently occupied for the future. Several important improvements are now in progress in London, having this among other things for their object. The clearance system of every kind cannot be too effectually persevered in: but while this is being done, more stringent measures must be enforced for the purpose of preventing the possibility of present evils being experienced for the future, than are yet adopted, Little Albany Street, &c. must be built on Hampstead Common. Our municipal authorities must not only prevent, but remove every human habitation from such and similar filthy localities, which are a disgrace both to those who own, those who occupy, and those who allow them.

If, instead of old houses and crowded back lanes being set apart for our labouring population in towns, and every other door apparently shut against them, a society, supported



by the different mechanics, artisans, and working people themselves, was to organize itself, having for its object the building of houses entirely adapted for the accommodation of this class, in every airy and healthy district of large towns, with gymnasiums attached for the purpose of affording youth the necessary amount of exercise so absolutely requisite for health, and the proper developement of the body, half the rents which they now pay would soon redeem the outlay. A general benefit would be gained in the end, were even a consideration made to the society in the shape of taxes and towns' dues, by the different urban authorities.

The scheme would exercise a threefold effect. 1st. It would promote a different spirit among proprietors in the erection of new houses, and the patching up of old ones. There is as much household accommodation in London unoccupied at present, as would suit the majority of this class well, if not the whole of them who are badly situated, were houses so constructed that this accommodation could be let to them. The wants of the labourer, however, are not consulted, but the wants of the landlord and tenant; and hence,

as is invariably the case, the interests of the whole are sacrificed. We are busy building for grandees, while two thirds of our people are beggars! 2d. It would inspire a different and more elevated feeling among the working classes themselves for the quality of their lodgings, and in a great measure place the better-disposed of them beyond the influence of the grosser characters. 3d. It would reduce the value of old buildings, prove a salutary check to worthless characters offering long rents for them, in the hopes of being able to sublet to lodgers, and render the removal of all those abominable nests more easily accomplished.

The household accommodation of the workman can never be separated from his wages. Inferior quality, especially bad ventilation, low wages, and little work performed daily, are *three things* inseparably connected together. Any master who has studied the value of the work performed by a labourer, both as to quantity and quality, will readily admit that 5s. per week falls infinitely short of existing differences among them, occasioned not by a lazy disposition or unhealthy constitution

naturally, as many ignorantly imagine, but from the want of proper food, clothing, and household accommodation. Such being the case, the master who pays his servant 20s. only receives 15s. worth of labour for it. He sacrifices 5s. to his own want of industry, in not interesting himself in behalf of the household accommodation of his servant. He may, it is true, adopt means to prevent this sacrifice directly, but if he does so, he, in nine cases out of ten, loses double indirectly. Millions have been annually sacrificed upon this altar by our commercial and manufacturing capitalists, the consequences of which they have deservingly experienced, but which they have unhappily been unable to comprehend; and hence the reason why they have always so strenuously endeavoured to tax the landed interest with their own misconduct.

In town, as in country, every master ought to furnish household accommodation for his workman, of a quality, so far as health is concerned, at least equal to that of his own. We would act upon the principle of building new houses for both parties, and when the old ones were unfit to live in, rebuild again. Where

one man could not live, we would rest satisfied with the experiment; and not attempt to naturalize our species by a system of progressive training to live in sinks of iniquity degrading to the British character.

Although we do not experience the effects of living in London to be greater than what we anticipated, still we feel a very material difference in the quality of the air which we breathe, and this difference is doubled and tripled as we proceed towards the centre of the town. The air is not only more densely loaded with smoke, but also by many other impurities; and although the last may not be traceable to any particular source, yet they are sensibly felt as being present in a greater degree. There can be no doubt as to the cause of such a difference, and of the impurity of the air in general. The whole arises from the immense amount of decomposition continually taking place. Among old houses, this waste is of course greatest where the materials of the buildings were originally of equal quality. Every house with all its contents is daily and hourly undergoing dissolution, and hence giving off part of their constituent elements in a

gaseous form, materially affecting the purity of the atmosphere, and the vitality of those who inhale it.

In many of our vineries, peach-houses, &c. are yet to be seen flues through which smoke is conducted for the purpose of heating them. These are often of tortuous length. In theory, we see no difficulty in building a city ten times the size of London, and removing the whole of the smoke and foul air from the interior of every house in it to any distance beyond its environs by properly constructed flues, communicating with every apartment in every house by means of chimnies, tubes, &c. Any velocity of current could be given to the air in the flues by means of machinery at the exterior vent, where the contents would be discharged. The whole smoke as it was discharged could be condensed and appropriated to agricultural or other purposes. The state of the air in every room, bed-room, cellar, storehouse, &c. could be regulated by machinery, self-acting or otherwise, and supplied afresh from the untainted atmosphere without. In theory we see no difficulty in erecting the whole and keeping it clean and in working order, but we see many difficulties in

reducing such a theory to practice in the present capital of the empire, but none which may not ultimately be overcome by the industry and genius of its inhabitants.

2. Land-improving scheme. The comprehensive character of this subject will readily be understood when we mention the fact, that it embraces the whole of the tenant-right question now engrossing so much of the attention of the agricultural world. It does so, not only in rural subjects, but also in urban. It includes every improvement which adds to the amount and value of public and private property. In offering a few practical remarks upon the present practice, and that which we propose for the future, we shall confine ourselves to agricultural subjects.

For the sake of perspicuity as well as brevity, let us take an example, say three farms capable of undergoing very great permanent improvements. One farm is in this country, another in Scotland, and a third in Ireland. The two former contain 200 acres each, and the latter only 5. The *three* farms belong to one landlord, whose duty to himself, his family, and the public is to improve them. He is unable to do so personally, and therefore the state authorises

him by Acts of Parliament to transfer his obligations to tenants, the good-will of the business, to use a commercial phrase, for a term of years, securing to the latter the privileges of the former according to agreement. The farms are to let on leases: among others six unexceptionable candidates make their appearance. Invariably when taking a farm the worst tenants are the loudest in their pretensions to merits of a superior kind; and the small ones of the Sister Isle are not the least noisy. In the present case, however, all are equal.

The English candidates A. B. concur in their opinions relative to the conditions of lease and the meliorations to be executed. They harmonise with those of the landlord and his duty to the nation. They are just what they should be. A. offers 210*l.* and B. 200*l.* The former, from being equally an industrious, improving, and in every respect an eligible farmer, becomes tenant, and consequently receives possession of the farm for the period of one year certain. Both parties being satisfied with each other, the relation continues to subsist between them. At the expiry of a definite period of time, say twenty years, an advance of rent is

justly expected by the landlord, the improvements having been admitted to be such that the tenant would have no claim upon the landlord at the expiry of such a period ; in other words, that they would have redeemed the outlay within that period. Accordingly, the farm is examined by competent judges, the promises of the tenant are found honourably fulfilled, and an award pronounced, allowing the landlord 6*s.* 6*d.* per acre of additional rent, to which the tenant concurs.

The Scotch farmers C. and D. are also equal in their promises as to meliorations, perfectly satisfied as to the general articles of lease, but the offer of C. is accepted for the same reason that A.'s was in the last case ; and accordingly he becomes tenant for a term of nineteen years on condition of paying 210*l.* of rent, and executing the improvements. At the expiry of his lease, C. stands exactly in the same position with his landlord as we found A.—takes a second nineteen years' lease, agreeing to pay 6*s.* 6*d.* per acre of additional rent.

The two Irish farmers E. and F. are also agreed upon the extent of meliorations which they intend to execute, and are perfectly satisfied



with the tenant-right. E. offers 5*l.* 5*s.* and F. 5*l.* Both parties being equal in other respects the offer of the former is accepted, and he becomes tenant for a term of years, at the expiry of which he renews his lease, agreeing to pay 6*s.* 6*d.* per acre of additional rent.

In the above *three* examples it will readily be perceived that A., C., and E., by agreeing to become industrious and improving tenants, exclude themselves from having any claims upon their landlords at the expiry of their leases for meliorations executed by them.

What is true of permanent improvements is also true of specific modes of husbandry. In ninety-nine cases out of every hundred A., C., and E. promise to cultivate on the most improved system. If for instance, therefore, we suppose that during the currency of a lease, artificial manures shall be discovered, and that the application of these shall actually enhance the value of the soil 6*s.* 6*d.* per acre, over and above all expenses, the tenant positively excludes himself from having any right to make a claim upon the landlord at the expiry of his lease for some 5*l.* per acre. The argument of E. that F. will give 25*l.* for his tenant-right is

untenable, and cannot for a moment be listened to. It amounts to neither less nor more than this, that if the landlord will allow it, his tenant E. through the instrumentality of a third party F. will *pick his pocket of some 25l. honestly*. For the same reason, if tenants adopt a more efficient system of culture, as spade husbandry, on the plan we propose, thereby doubling the acreable produce of the kingdom, they have no right on that account to make a demand upon British landlords of something more than the fee-simple of their farms at the expiry of their leases. Compliance with such demands enforced by statutory enactments or otherwise would be a direct violation of the contract existing between parties.

In some cases again it is agreed upon that the tenant shall receive payment at the expiry of his lease for meliorations executed by him during its currency. Let us now suppose that in the above three examples the landlord is conventionally obligated to pay for meliorations, and see how it will affect the several interests of parties.

1. In this case the primary obligations on the part of the landlord have reference to

possession and the payment at the expiry of the lease of say 5*l.* per acre for meliorations executed by the tenant, or 1000*l.* for the erection of houses and fences. The question therefore is, what are to be the counter obligations of the tenant? One of these, it must be admitted, is the execution of the meliorations. The other is the amount of additional rent, which the six candidates may think or judge the additional obligation on the part of the landlord worth to them. It is very obvious that all stand again upon equal footing, so that being equal in judgment A., C., and E. arrive at the same conclusion. In the former case they calculated upon a certain percentage to redeem the outlay, and in the present they give this percentage as additional rent.

Let us again suppose that the landlord shall advance 1000*l.* to each of the first two tenants, A. and C., and 25*l.* to E., at their entry to their respective farms, for the purpose of effecting the meliorations in question. The counter obligations on the part of the tenants would, now, obviously, be the immediate payment of interest in the shape of say 6*s.* 6*d.* per acre of additional rent.

According to the above three examples, showing the different plans by which improvements are effected by landlords and tenants at present, it will readily be perceived that it is immaterial to either party what the law of the land may be, or what the relation between them — the whole depending upon the *fact* of the 5*l.* per acre being properly invested in meliorating their farms. It is from this source alone that any benefit is to be derived, and from none other. There are many practical questions, however, arising out of this view of the subject, where the several interests of parties may or may not be seriously affected according to circumstances.

1. The above examples cannot be admitted as strictly in accordance with present practice, generally speaking. They rather exemplify the equitable principles by which parties are guided in the discharge of their several duties to one another, than show the result of those principles when reduced to practice. For instance, in the above three examples, we have supposed that the meliorations are wholly effected by either landlord or tenant; whereas in practice, in the vast majority of cases, they are a compound of the three — a patch-up

between the two — the landlord performing part and the tenant part. The principle, however, remains the same, each party being interested for the part similarly to what we have represented him for the whole, so that interests are not materially affected according to this view.

2. We have supposed the period of twenty years to be necessary for the tenant in order to enable him to recover his outlays. In practice, English tenants holding from year to year have no such security in the majority of cases. Houses, fences, gates, &c., consequently belong to the landlord, who is bound to keep the whole in repair, the tenant performing carriages. The improvements effected by the English farmer are those which immediately repay him, and hence from the paucity of their numbers, are upon the whole not worth mentioning. Any advance of rent which has been obtained in England, has arisen from currency questions and superior management on the part of the tenant. No doubt there are many exceptions from this statement, but these are of an individual character, whether as relating to landlord or tenant.

In Scotland, nineteen years may be granted as sufficient to redeem the outlay, but this proceeds upon the hypothesis that the principal had been invested during the first year of the lease, which every farmer is aware is impracticable in the vast majority of cases. Although houses may be built in one year, it is seldom that the tenant is able to perform all the carriages during this period, especially the first year, if he is an incoming tenant. Improvements connected with the soil cannot be performed in shorter time than *one rotation*, and more frequently require two, so that half the currency of the lease is expired before they are concluded. The inference, therefore, is obvious, that the tenant is obliged to resort to illegitimate means in order to keep himself safe, and get his money out of the farm. Hence it is, that a vast amount of improvements are of a very superficial kind; and while the tenant has been meliorating one part of the farm, he has at the same time been reducing in value two parts, by severe cropping, frequently leaving the farm at the expiry of his lease actually worth less rent than at its commencement. We could instance numerous examples where both parties

were losers — where the landlord had to take less rent in consequence of the effects of over-cropping; and where the away-going tenant left without getting up his money. Evil consequences of this kind have been generally avoided by timely renewals, some four or five years or the period of one rotation before the expiry of the lease. Thus if a farm is cropped on a four-course shift, four years — five-course shift, five years, and so on, before the expiry of the lease. By this judicious arrangement, the tenant is enabled to get his money out of the farm during the ensuing lease, when it has been invested; and when it has not, he executes part of the improvement during the last few years of the expiring lease; so that he is enabled to realise the whole by the expiry of the ensuing one.

In Ireland, tenants are similarly situated as in Scotland, or rather superior, the duration of leases being longer. Unfortunately, however, for the Sister Isle her improvements have not been of a very redeeming character, but the reverse. The principal amount of meliorations which have been executed by small tenants are houses, fences, &c., and from the superficial character of these, the tear and wear upon them

can scarcely be estimated at less than quadruple that which has to be borne by the large farmers. There is a limit to agricultural buildings, which if either landlord or tenant shall exceed, they entail upon the soil, not only the original unnecessary cost, but also the annual expense of keeping the same in repair: 1000*l.* will erect sufficient household accommodation to A. and C., but 25*l.* will not provide the same for E. If 1000*l.* is the limit on 200 acres, then 25*l.* is the limit on 5 acres. Granting that with spade husbandry A. and C. should require 500*l.* in addition for labourers' cottages, it still leaves E. more than the one half behind. The consequence is, that as a labourer depending upon labour extraneous of his small holding, he must supply the balance. Hence the curse of the small farms of Ireland. They have to support household accommodation for the labourers of the large farms, whether their occupants as labourers receive employment or no. In other words, they have been instrumental in doubling the number of labourers, which the present system of husbandry requires. The industry of both landlord and tenant has here been turned into a fruitless field. Neither can regain what they



have lost, but both may avoid similar consequences by the adoption of the plan already noticed; viz. — the landlord immediately building new houses in situations where they will confer a value upon his property and a blessing upon his subjects.

3. In the above examples we have supposed that all parties had plenty of money, an hypothesis which merits no practical remark. Experience has satisfactorily proved to tenants, that their greatest loss has arisen from the appropriation of capital to permanent improvements, especially in the erection of houses, which ought to have gone towards the purchase of stock and manure. In order to avoid immediate sacrifices from this source, similar, if not greater ones have ultimately been sustained from improperly executed improvements. The want of capital also on the part of the landlord has almost excluded him from taking an active part in the improvement of his property. For the want of means, the few improvements executed by him have been of a very superficial kind, especially in draining, and the losses consequently experienced by both parties very great.

The adoption of the scheme which we propose

would remove all those evils by enabling landlords to execute every permanent improvement upon their estates in an efficient manner. All that tenants would have to do would be to test the value of new improvements by experiment; and whenever they saw that the reduction of any theory to practice would prove beneficial to them, to apply to the landlord for money or for leave to turn their current rents to this source where such are sufficient, an application which would always be gladly responded to by him. Parties, however, must not proceed faster than experiment will sanction. Neither landlords nor tenants must listen to the advice of theory unless accompanied with practice. Science has not yet made sufficient progress to warrant exclusive reliance upon information from this source. And even when experiment is resorted to science has made so little progress, that the greatest caution will be necessary in giving credence to her deductions.

From these remarks it will readily be perceived that the land-improving scheme which we propose is a scheme to be founded upon successful experiment—a scheme where theory

and practice are conjoined, and where the one cannot be admitted a hearing in the absence of the other. The obvious maxim of all parties therefore must be successful practice at home—receive as much theory abroad as possible, but only communicate instruction at home. Landlords must not attempt to reduce their theories to practice beyond their own home farms. If they are successful here tenants will require little inducement to follow their example if they place the means within their reach on the plan we propose. They must not, however, allow themselves to think that they are always successful because stewards and bailiffs say so. We have seen flattering balance sheets both in the United Kingdom and in Ireland, which, although they greatly enriched the landlord, would still have made the tenant look sadly on a rent day. If tenants will not follow the landlord's plans the latter may depend upon it that the former have specific reasons sufficient to justify them for not doing so. It matters not whether those reasons are well founded or not, provided they are sufficient to overturn the plans of the landlord. In short, in executing extensive improvements upon their

properties, such as draining, trenching, &c., where tenants are called upon to pay  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, landlords must walk with the greatest circumspection.

Experimental and model farms are wanted in every district in order to afford practical information to both landlords and tenants. These must be established on every different geological character of soil. Practice on the Oxford clay is not practice on the London clay, much less on the intermediate chalk and green sand soils; neither can the science of the one be joined to the practice of the other. It is not diversity of practice which ought to be the object of these institutions; but successful practice, suitable to the immediate districts with which they stand respectively connected. They must not be instruments in the hands of landlords for teaching tenants superior practice, but rather instruments in the hands of tenants for teaching landlords: for undoubtedly the latter have the most need of practical tuition. They must not be subject to agricultural schools and colleges, *so called*, for the purpose of exemplifying the theories there inculcated to juvenile classes, but superior institutions for the purpose of

perfecting the work which has there been begun. There cannot be a doubt but that many parents who are now sending their sons to such agricultural seminaries as those at present established, for the purpose of acquiring the necessary practical information which a farmer requires, will experience serious disappointment: and that those young men have yet “an apprentice fee to pay” (as the saying is) before they become masters of the art of agriculture. The art of agriculture is one thing, but a general notion of that art a very different thing. A farmer’s son can never be master of the art until he is qualified to take every implement of the farm, and by his own practice, *not that of his foreman*, teach his labourer how to perform, not quality of work only, but quantity also: for the latter is of as much importance to the farmer as the former—and not quantity for one hour, day, week, or month, but for any given time. The servant must be conscious that he is a practical man before success can attend his instruction. In short, an agricultural apprentice, like every other apprentice, must support himself during the last year of his apprenticeship on taskwork, and none ought to be admitted

as indoor students to the agricultural department of any seminary who would not do so. Colleges adapted to amateur and gentlemen farmers will never suit practical ones.

In Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, attention to the purport of these remarks is more necessary than even in England and the Lowlands of Scotland. In the former we have only got gentlemen farmers and labourers, but in the latter we have got practical men, who will, we hope, be able to maintain their ground between the two extremes of poverty and wealth already referred to. In Ireland, therefore, such industrial means must be established.

The first practical step on the part of Irish landlords and gentlemen farmers in the reformation of their country is the appointment of practical men as agents, stewards, and bailiffs; men who are qualified to advance the circumstances of the labourer on the plan already noticed, as well as to improve the properties of their employers. The next work is the erection of cottages with gardens attached to them for the accommodation of labourers required in cultivating their demesnes. In conjunction with the erection of cottages the clearance system,

but conducted on a very different plan from that now in operation, must be introduced. Pauper tenantry must exchange their present miserable hovels or cabins for the comfortable homes which we propose erecting for them. Each may then as a tenant enjoy the same security of tenure which he now does—earn 2s. per day in ordinary circumstances, and have full employment for every member of his family on equally favourable terms, the circumstances of the family being some 40*l.* per annum on an average better than what they are at present.

While these changes are taking place, the establishment of experimental and model farms is also progressing. This is absolutely necessary, for, however well conducted the home farms of landlords and gentlemen farmers may be, there will always be a suspicion attached to them by the generality of practical farmers. Model farms must be independent and self-supporting establishments, having no connection either with the pocket or the person of the landlord, or any other dignitary, so to speak. If thus established, as we propose, they will greatly assist land-stewards where landlords are over-officious and theorising; and on the

other part will always afford landlords sufficient evidence to support their theories when they require it.

3rd. Colonisation. This scheme we have said has *three objects* in view. 1st. The relieving us of our surplus population. 2nd. The reduction of our national debt; and 3rd. The improvement of our colonies and the proper settlement of our emigrants in them. In this national work our industry is also divided into *three* great divisions, corresponding to the above *three objects* of the scheme. 1st. We have the industry of the mother country *at home*, reciprocating with the reduction of our national debt. 2nd. We have our naval industry in conjunction with the removal of our surplus population from our shores to our colonies. 3rd. Our colonial industry busy in providing for the wants of this surplus population. Each of those divisions must be properly organized before any attempt is made at a commencement. The following will convey a general idea of the machinery of such a scheme.

Let the mother country be divided into districts, one or more counties to each district, according to the number of their inhabitants.



Let our colonies be divided into a corresponding number of districts, according to the quality of the soil, and the commercial and manufacturing capabilities of each. Let the inhabitants of each district of the mother country form themselves into a company, having its corresponding company or companies in the colony or colonies, so as to afford every facility for keeping up the minutest intimacy which possibly can exist between the two parties thus mutually interested on all practical subjects. Let each company jointly co-operate with government in effecting the three great objects in view. Let government grant a free passage out to shareholders of colonial stock, exclusive of provisions—provisions to be furnished by the colonies. Let government fit out a suitable navy for this purpose. Let all new vessels built be constructed, so that they may be turned into war vessels in the event of any emergency. This navy need not entail upon the finances of the nation a much greater expence than the safety of British commerce at present requires. Let each company send out a practical man to select its colonial territory, and let a regularly organized body of agricul-

tural labourers, mechanics, and artizans, according to his report, follow. Let all kinds of work be done by the task, and regularly accounted for. Let each emigrant be a shareholder, and the amount of his interest in the company equal to his own and his relations' subscriptions at home and his labour in the colony.

In the construction of this machinery *three* things are necessary to be considered. 1st. The probable number of emigrants. 2nd. The expense of supporting them until they are able to support themselves; and 3rd, the source from which this capital is to be derived.

1st. The probable number of emigrants. We formerly divided these into two great classes. 1st. The sons of landlords, capitalists, farmers, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, &c. The number contained in this class may be stated at 60,000 annually. The other class, comprising persons entirely depending upon their own manual labours in connection with the above, may be stated at 300,000 under a prosperous state of industry in the mother country. Exclusive of the above, there may probably be under a sufficiently encouraging

scheme 30,000 foreigners, 10,000 of the former, and 20,000 of the latter class.

2nd. The assistance which would probably be required by the mother country, in order to keep this machinery in motion may be stated at 10,000,000*l.* annually, exclusive of the expense of the navy which would have to be borne by government. The more that is required so much the better for all parties. For this sum, the colony would have to pay, say  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of interest for a certain period, until the principal was redeemed.

The above would principally be required for machinery, and in fitting out poor emigrants with clothes and provisions during their passage out. Although no doubt the majority would be able to fit out themselves, still a vast number would not, but would require less or more assistance. Emigrants, from being shareholders, would of course be debtors for what they severally received, and hence have to account to the company accordingly.

3rd. We do not contemplate that companies in the mother country would have any difficulty in procuring capital, as the money does not leave the country. Were any difficulty,

however, to be experienced we would have recourse to an assessment, each party being liable to be assessed who pays poor rates at present. It is very evident that the schemes which we have proposed, have one and all of them for their object the reduction of poor-rates, so that the assessment in all probability would not at any time be experienced to be heavier than it is at present, if so heavy, while it would have this difference to recommend it. Money paid as poor-rates is for ever lost to the payer; but money paid for colonial rates would only be money invested in colonial stock, entitling the payer to rank as a shareholder. Thus if a farmer or city merchant paid 10*l.* of rates, he would have his  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for his outlay, and 10*l.* at the expiry of the redeeming term with which to purchase a farm for his son; or he could sell his interest in the company at any time to an emigrant or other purchaser. An assessment, we repeat, we have every reason to believe would not be required, as merchants would always be found willing to advance goods on receipt of the company's bills.

In starting this machinery, the first step

would be to annex it to the poor-law machinery of the mother country. This would avoid any additional expense of management at home ; while it would afford rate-payers the means of insisting upon colonial bills for their rates, where they had the slightest reason to suspect that these were to be paid in supporting parties able to emigrate or work at home.

A great many farmers' sons as well as those of merchants, master-mechanics, and manufacturers, &c. would not be able to purchase property or colonial bills before leaving home, and hence would have to enter the service of the company. These would become managers in the different branches of colonial industry.

The age which ought to emigrate is *youth*. Young people ought to serve an apprenticeship in our colonies, not only for the interest of their parents at home, but also on their own account. This is more particularly the case with towns-people. Were such to emigrate at the age of from fourteen to sixteen years, they could be trained up to any branch of industry which they might choose. A youth entering as an apprentice at the age of fifteen would, were he industrious and well disposed, by the time he

was twenty-five be able to purchase a farm of fifty acres of land, with ten acres cultivated, and having good household accommodation, equal to that on any fifty-acre estate in this country sufficiently furnished, or property to the same value, if he belonged to the commercial or manufacturing interests.

The period of agricultural apprenticeship we would not fix at any particular number of years, but rather measure it by the amount of labour the party had performed, or the capital he was possessed of. As soon as any one was able to purchase property, it would be sold him. If he thought otherwise, he could remain in the enjoyment of the advantages of the company, and purchase property for his family : so long as he rendered his services he would be a shareholder. Mechanics, &c., of course would have to serve a regular period, as in this country, before earning wages.

If we suppose the period of an apprenticeship to be on an average *six years*, then the total number of labourers in our colonies may be stated at about 1,000,000 men and as many women, of different ages.

This, however, would not represent the whole

of the power brought into the field of industry by the British people for the purpose of improving our colonies, and effecting the reduction of our national debt. The power which we would apply to this purpose would be more of an artificial kind, than that now in operation. We would abridge labour at all hands by the application of machinery, as it is done in this country. The abridgement of labour in our colonies at present is very defective, and on the lowest calculation a saving may be effected, such as would bring up our strength to something equivalent to that of from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 effective hands.

It is with this extra power in the hands of our colonial apprentices, that we would enable them to establish industry on a more solid basis than it is at present; so that by the time they were qualified for entering upon their own responsibility, they would have property to the value of their labour double and triple of what they would have had, had they served their apprenticeship in the mother country; while at the same time they would be able by well-directed labour with machinery to create a large amount of property, over and above what they

otherwise could have done by their own unaided efforts, even had they left this country journeymen, and which to themselves would be comparatively valueless — but to the mother country of infinite value, as she could dispose of it to a different class of emigrants possessing capital, whose settlement in the colony would on the other hand be of infinite value to them; thus conferring a twofold benefit upon both parties.

At present the settler is left to fight single-handed against every opposing element which a strange land and climate throws in his way. No attention is paid to the balance of the different branches of industry. The expense of labour is such as almost to exclude manufacturing and commercial industry at least from entering the field on equal footing with that of the mother country. Both countries, strange to say, are actually suffering from two opposite extremes which always ought to balance each other. At home labourers are idle and starving for want of bread, while in our colonies masters cannot find servants *nor mouths* to consume even the agricultural produce of their own labours.

This extraordinary and unpardonable state of



British industry evidently results from the narrow-minded policy of our commercial interest, alluded to at the commencement of this essay, who have been pulling down their barns and building larger ones, in order to harvest the fruits of their ambition, and support as they vainly imagined our rapidly increasing millions, which now threaten to consume them! We would be actuated by very different motives. If we were able to purchase agricultural produce on a foreign shore, we would send out our own farmers' sons and labourers to grow it, and our own commercial and manufacturing classes to consume it. We would keep the different branches of industry in perfect equilibrium and wholly independent of the mother country after they were finally settled on their own account. We would not only do away with the barbarous stage of agriculture, which every settler at present so severely experiences, and introduce a more civilised and scientific system of husbandry, but also establish all the other branches of industry on a scale, if possible, superior to that of the same in this country. It is only by giving our colonies these advantages that success can attend the scheme which

we propose in any of its divisions, either for the removal of our surplus population, the reduction of our national debt, or the improvement and prosperity of our colonies themselves.

Another defect of our colonial industry, at present, lies in this, that comparatively little attention is paid to overcome by art the physical difficulties which a different climate throws in the way of the colonist. Industry is evidently here at fault, from the want of science to direct her labours. This is more particularly the case in our colonies of the southern hemisphere, than in those of the north. We are introducing the pastoral system of the Highlands of Scotland into our Cape and Australian territories. While the clearance system is going on at home, our expatriated countrymen are reducing the same theory to practice in a foreign land. The Caffre and Papua are fast being supplanted by the flocks and herds of Great Britain. Such a system probably may be justified as a temporary expedient ; but certainly it can never be looked upon in any other light, and therefore ought to be acted upon accordingly *in time*.

The general complaint against the immense island of New Holland is the scarcity of

water. The absence of springs, however, in a level country, is no evidence that water is beyond the reach of art. Many millions of acres on the globe once presented a busy scene of industry ; but have become a parched wilderness since they were deserted by the art of man, and probably were so before they were reclaimed by his labours. It is more than probable, we think, from the partial manner in which this immense extent of our dominions has been explored, that the conclusions of geographers relative to its being unfit ever to support a dense population are erroneous, and that the opposite may turn out to be true. A 20-acre farm cultivated by the spade or on the horticultural system may produce more human food under such a climate where water can be had, than a 100-acre one in Britain or Canada with the plough.

In the United Kingdom there are 53,363 gardeners. If we take the total in Britain at 70,000, the whole population of this class at 300,000, the decennial increase at 14 per cent, then the increase which would remain as surplus stock for emigration may be stated at 4200 annually, or 2100 young gardeners, each having a sister. There can be no doubt that were these

introduced into our Cape and Australian colonies, with so many apprentices each under a properly organised and encouraging system, they would very soon redeem all expenses, and realise for themselves suitable properties, such as would render them comparatively independent.

Gardeners, however, would have many things to learn under such a climate, as well as farmers, before being able to bring the different vegetable productions to a state of perfection, so as to serve the purposes of the manufacturing and commercial interests. Hence, again, the necessity of an apprenticeship being served by those who could not afford to employ a steward or foreman on their arrival as colonists.

In subdividing land, we would always be regulated by the wants of purchasers. If a landlord wanted an estate of 1000 or 2000 acres, with 200 of these cultivated and suitable household accommodation, let him give his orders, and we would endeavour to suit him. If a farmer wanted 100, 200, or 300 acres, with 50 improved, he could have his request with any household accommodation he wanted. If we suppose that a farmer's son, A., leaves this country as a manager, and along with him a carpenter and mason, B. and C., each

manager being accompanied by a number of apprentices, a landlord requiring an estate for his son, gives orders to A. to select one of equal quality with that which he may choose for himself, and arranges with B. and C. relative to houses. On the arrival of A. at the colony, if he is satisfied as to the quality of the soil, his first object is a farm for himself, and contiguous to it another for the landlord. On securing these, he gets possession of the former, on condition of complying with the landlord's orders. He has also to improve other farms, until the value of his own labour is sufficient to cover the purchase price of his own. The apprentices entrusted to his charge are similarly interested, and so are B. and C. The same field of industry is opened to every emigrant.

The revenue of our colonies for the purpose of liquidating the national debt may be assumed to be as follows. The class likely to become purchasers, we have already stated at 60,000, exclusive of 10,000 foreigners. Let the last number go for managers. Let us suppose that a father will give so much to a son and daughter on an average. Some landlords and capitalists would no doubt become purchasers, to the extent of from 5000*l*.

to 20,000*l.* The whole 600,000,000*l.* alluded to in the land-improving scheme, may in the course of time be invested in the colonies, returning a perpetuity of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, instead of an annuity. Officers and soldiers entitled to pensions, as well as annuitants, may enter into equally favourable arrangements with government. A farmer may insure 1000*l.* payable to his son and daughter when they become of age or at any definite period, and thus obtain a farm of this value in the colonies. The purchases by this class may run individually from 200*l.* to 20,000*l.* If we take 1000*l.* as an average for a son and daughter, it will yield a revenue of 30,000,000*l.* annually for the above purpose, leaving the proceeds of the sales of land and other property among the 10,000 managers and 320,000 labourers who settle annually, to go as profits among themselves as shareholders, after paying the 10,000,000*l.* annually of expenses advanced by the mother country. The above revenue, it will be observed, from the number of effective hands employed, together with the benefits of machinery, is but a tithe of the value of the property which may be annually added to our colonies.

There are, no doubt, many objections to

coupling the reduction of our national debt with a branch of industry so important as that of colonisation to Britain at present; but there are none which ought not to be willingly sacrificed by every patriotic subject of the realm: while on the other hand its connection with it is qualified to enlist national enterprise in a manner which will do far more than counterbalance all the objections which can be brought forward, so that the gain to the mother country will be twofold to the colony.

In concluding this essay we have to observe, that although it has been our endeavour as much as possible to have recourse to facts in support of what has been said or advanced, yet we have been unable to do so in such a manner as the different branches of the subject necessarily require. It will readily be perceived that in many cases we have confined ourselves almost exclusively to a few generalising remarks on agitated questions; and have left unnoticed what is of far more importance to farmers' sons — *the body of facts*.

Any attempt to have introduced these would have involved us in details, the treatment of which, although perhaps the most familiar part of the subject to a practical man, is yet

foreign from the object of the present work. Enough however, it is hoped, has been said to show, that the numerous causes assigned by political agitators for our present calamities, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing, are as erroneous as the several schemes advanced by them for effecting the melioration of the different classes of the community are totally inadequate for the purpose, and that the improvement of our industry can only be effected in accordance with what we propose.

A few lines are given by way of preface, in order to apprise the reader of the object which the author has in view in bringing so comprehensive a subject before the public in so contracted a form. He is now busily engaged in preparing for the press a large work, where the different subjects so imperfectly glanced at in the foregoing pages will be more methodically and fully discussed.

THE END.

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